

ISOCRATES

EDITED BY

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AD DEMONICUM

ET

PANEGYRICUS

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TO
STEUART ADOLPHUS PEARS, D.D.
HEAD MASTER OF REPTON SCHOOL,

THIS VOLUME
IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

BY
HIS FORMER PUPIL
THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

IN the Lent and Easter terms of this year, I was called upon, in the course of College routine, to give lectures on the *ad Demonicum* and *Panegyricus* of Isocrates, a subject which had been selected for one of the minor University Examinations. The present volume is the result of those lectures. Owing to the fact that there was no edition with English notes of sufficient fulness and accuracy to be worth recommending as a text-book for use in the lecture-room, I was compelled to endeavour to supply the deficiency from independent sources, supplemented by the best continental editions, and during the last three months the rough memoranda thus collected for immediate use, have been prepared for the press and amplified to an extent which I scarcely contemplated when I began the task. The names of the continental editions which I have consulted will be found in their proper place, and my special obligations to my predecessors have been fully acknowledged in the notes, wherever such obligations have been really worth recording. One who is late in the field must expect to be frequently anticipated, especially in illustrative passages gathered from the range of ordinary classical authors, and an attempt to state every instance of this kind is not only hopeless, but in many cases unsatisfactory. For instance, I have in several of the notes found myself giving credit to one editor for a valuable collection of references which he himself had borrowed without acknowledgment from a previous editor. I have endeavoured to verify all these borrowed references, and in all cases, in which I have not done so, have given the name of the person who is

responsible for the accuracy of the statement. But the field is still unexhausted, and even in the case of ordinary authors, the industrious reapers of Germany have left many gleanings 'for the stranger' to gather.

The quotations from Isocrates himself are naturally frequent. The general rule that every author is his own best interpreter is particularly applicable in the case of Isocrates. No author takes such delight in quoting from himself, and besides the three great instances in which he quotes whole pages from his previous writings, we have many shorter passages in which, owing partly to a certain poverty of invention, partly to the fact that the same theme often haunted him for years together, partly to a self-complacent feeling that what he had once expressed well could not easily be expressed better, he reproduces the same thoughts with only slight varieties of diction. In such cases the blending of identity and variety is often instructive; and, for the purposes of explanation and textual criticism, sometimes particularly important.

The real difficulties that arise in Isocrates are generally the result of rhetorical exaggeration: but, for the rest, there is perhaps no Attic author who is equal to him in simplicity of constructions, in purity of language and transparency of style. It is this that renders him peculiarly suitable as a stepping-stone to the less easy prose of the other Attic orators, and of Aristotle, Plato, and Thucydides; it is this that has made him as favorite a subject in the schools of Germany as he was in our English schools during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹.

¹ See Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster*, passim. It was under Ascham's tuition that Queen Elizabeth, in the 14th year of her age, translated the *ad Nicoclem* and the *Nicocles* of Isocrates, (on the duties of kings and of subjects). In the 20th year of her reign, Ashton drew up the Bailiffs' and Burgesses' ordinances for Shrewsbury School, in which the head master is instructed to teach 'for Greke...Isocrates ad Demonicum and Xenophon his Cyrus' (No. 34. in Baker's *Hist. of St. John's Coll.* p. 413. ed. Mayor). One of the most popular school editions of the *ad Demonicum* and the *ad Nicoclem* was

With regard to the first of the selections included in this volume, I venture to think that (quite apart from the subject matter, which will be interesting or not, according to the temperament of the reader) it will be found a useful study in the choice of words, that it will enable beginners to lay the foundation of a good Greek vocabulary, and be not entirely unprofitable to those who are more than beginners.

The second of these selections may be made equally useful for educational purposes, and has during the last year been satisfactorily tested in the Fifth form of Shrewsbury School. The many points of historical and literary interest which are there either incidentally or fully dwelt upon (e.g. the Persian wars, the Athenian and the Spartan supremacies, the influence of the Homeric poems, the mysteries of Eleusis, and the tribunals of Athens)—these, and similar subjects which arise immediately out of the text, if thoroughly studied once for all, will equip the learner with a variety of information, which will render his progress in harder authors more rapid and satisfactory.

The number of books of reference quoted in this edition has been reduced as far as possible: I have assumed the possession of a good Grammar, Lexicon, History, and Classical Dictionary, and have seldom travelled into the province of such books of reference, except where the statements contained in them appear to require either correction or expansion. On points of syntax, I have in accordance with the plan of this series given references to Madvig's Greek Syntax; but occasionally where a subject has been somewhat inadequately treated there, I have added or substituted a that of 1677, published under the *imprimatur* of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and the commendations of Ralph Cudworth (the celebrated Master of Christ's), and other Cambridge men. '*Librum Georgii Sylvani Pannonii... grato ac libenti animo testimoniis nostris ornamus, omnibusque Ludorum Literariorum magistris commendatum habemus.*'

reference either to Donaldson's *Greek Grammar*, or Jelf's edition of Kühner, or lastly, to an excellent book, better known in America than in England, Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (3rd ed. Cambridge, U. S.). Frequent references have also been given to Veitch's *Greek Verbs, irregular and defective*, and to other accessible books; but, as a general rule, the information contained in books, that are out of the reach of ordinary readers and are not likely to be contained even in the best of school-libraries, has been incorporated into the notes, with a short indication of the source from which it is derived.

It was originally my intention to prefix to this volume a dissertation on the life, character and writings of Isocrates: this intention has, for various reasons, been abandoned. The plain facts that are known about him may be found either in Smith's Dictionaries, in Westermann's *Geschichte der Beredsamkeit*, or in the Index to Benseler's edition in the Teubner series. A list of some of the *Subsidia* which bear more or less directly on the subject will be found on a subsequent page.

In conclusion, I have to return my thanks to all who have in any way helped me in carrying this little volume through the press; amongst others, to Professor Cowell, who has revised and supplemented one or two notes that touch on questions of Comparative Philology; to the Rev. R. Shilleto, who has allowed me to submit some of the pages to his criticism, and has added one or two remarks of his own; to Mr. A. S. Wilkins, who has aided me in correcting the proofs of a majority of the notes; and especially to the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, who, besides other help and encouragement, has liberally given part of his valuable time to revising the whole of the notes.

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ST. JOHN'S COLL. CAMBRIDGE,

Sept. 30, 1868.

ON THE STYLE OF ISOCRATES.

LANGUAGE is the 'dress of thought,' or 'the incarnation of thought:' and all that is immediately connected with the visible form in which thought is clothed or embodied, so far as regards the individual words, the order of their arrangement, the relation of one sentence to another and the combined influence of all the sentences on the full development of an author's meaning, may be considered the natural subject of every attempt to state the characteristics of an author's style. It is on this principle that I propose in the few following pages to treat briefly and summarily of the style of Isocrates, with special reference to the words, the sentences, and the general effect of his writings.

The vocabulary of Isocrates belongs to the purest Attic dialect, unalloyed by the admixture of archaic and foreign elements; poetical, metaphorical and uncommon expressions are used with judgment and caution, and the words in general are chosen with discrimination and placed in effective positions, with a special view to perspicuity, variety and harmony¹.

The harmony of individual words is closely connected with the relation subsisting between each word and the word immediately preceding or succeeding it. If a word ends with a vowel and the next begins with a vowel, the result is a *hiatus*, which can either be removed entirely by the elision of one of the two vowels or by the introduction of a consonant between them, or can be modified by allowing the two vowel sounds to blend with one another. Isocrates generally does his best to

¹ As an instance of a naturalised foreign word we have *σατράπης* (*Paneg.* § 152), of a poetic word, *οὐρανομήκης* (*de Perm.* § 134). Among the metaphorical expressions we find *εὐλωτεύειν* (*Paneg.* 131), *τῆς ἐνείνου παρότητος* (*Hel.* 37), *ἐξοκέλλας* (*Epp.* II. 13). Some of the rare words are quoted on p. xxxiii. *fin.*

avoid *hiatus* altogether, a fact which is not only expressly stated by ancient authorities but is also partially confirmed by the evidence of the best manuscripts¹.

The structure of his sentences demands a more explicit statement than is necessary in the case of his vocabulary ; and it may help us to a clearer view of this part of our subject, if we dwell for a moment on the two-fold Aristotelian division of style, with reference to the internal structure of sentences and their relation to one another.

The first is the *λέξις εἰρομένη* (the jointed style) or, as it is called by a later authority² writing from a different point of view, the *λέξις διηρημένη* (the disjointed style), in which 'the sentences and clauses are strung together, *εἰρόμενοι*,—hang from one another like the links of a chain or the joints of a reed..., with no other connexion than that which is supplied by the *σύνδεσμοι* or connecting particles³.' The author quoted by Aristotle as an illustration of this style is Herodotus—an author in whom thought follows upon thought, clause upon clause, sentence upon sentence—each simply connected and yet disconnected with its immediate sequel : in a style, in short, which, in our own literature, may best be paralleled by the *Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile* or any well-told story of fairy-land,

'He flows, and, as he flows, for ever will flow on.'

The second division is the *λέξις κατεστραμμένη*, ἡ ἐν περιόδοις λέξις (the compact, condensed, concentrated, comprehensive periodic style). The difference between the two styles may be easily illustrated by a variety of similes ; to adopt one of these, which has the advantage of antiquity, the first resembles a number of stones lying near one another, loose, scattered and uncombined : the second resembles the same

¹ Dionys. Halic. *de vi Demosth.* c. 4, *judic. de Isocr.* c. 2 ; Cicero, *Orat.* 44 ; Plut. *Moral.* 350 E, Ἰσοκράτης ὁ φοβούμενος φωνῆεν φωνήεντι συγκροῦσαι ; Hermog. *περὶ ἰδεῶν* α (*Rhet. Gr.* II. 338, Spengel). v. *infra* p. xxxv and p. 128 n.

² Demetrius *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, § 12.

³ Mr Cope's Introduction to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, p. 306—316.

stones when bound compactly in the self-supporting cohesion of a vaulted dome¹.

This latter is the style of all the more artistic Greek writers and of Isocrates in particular. A rhetorician by profession, he devoted many years of a prodigiously long life to the cultivation of this 'periodic style';—casting and recasting his clauses, moulding and remoulding his sentences;—at one time elaborating moral maxims to be drilled into his readers with the double point of a polished antithesis; at another, writing clear, sensible, and ingenious speeches, to be delivered by his clients before the law-courts or the general assemblies of Athens²; but never so well pleased with himself as when dealing with grand questions of public policy³, or dwelling in satirical, contemptuous and patronising terms on his more or less illustrious contemporaries⁴, or lastly, dilating with supreme complacency on himself, his many pupils and his so-called philosophy⁵.

As might be expected, from the variety of his subject matter, the style of his sentences is also varied within certain limits. In his treatise addressed to Nicocles, the sentences are thrown into a short and concentrated form; in his forensic speeches, the sentences are sometimes expressed very briefly⁶, but more frequently in a slightly expanded shape, and it is mainly in his more ambitious and in some respects less successful efforts, that the sentences assume their greatest length. This length, however, in no single instance detracts from the clearness of his meaning, for notwithstanding the

¹ Demetrius *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* c. 13, Mr Cope *l.c.* p. 310, and De Quincy, Vol. x. *on Style*, p. 188.

² *Aegineticus* (a speech which well deserves Dobree's eulogy: '*nitidissima oratio*'), *de Bigis* (in defence of the son of Alcibiades), *Plataicus* (p. 105. n.) &c.—An edition of these speeches is still a *desideratum*.

³ *Panegyricus*, *de Pace*.

⁴ Esp. in the speech *contra Sophistas*, the *Helenae Encomium*, the *Busiris*, and the *Panathenaicus*, § 7 sqq. See p. 160. n.

⁵ Esp. *De Permutatione*, written, as Isocr. says, ὡς περ εἰκὼν τῆς ἐμῆς διαβολῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βεβιωμένων. v. p. 48. n.

⁶ *Trapeziticus* and *Amartyrus*.

variety of subordinate clauses interwoven into the expanding fabric, notwithstanding the complex contrasts between particle and counter-particle, and the long suspense in which the attention is held by his ascending periods, nevertheless his careful choice of words, and his scrupulously distinct arrangement of the various parts, combine in producing an unmistakeable transparency which pervades the sentence to the very end.

The consideration of the sentences of Isocrates naturally leads us to a statement of some of the artificial devices with which he endeavours to give precision and embellishment to his language. His frequent, not to say excessive, use of these artifices is mainly due to the general influence of the 'Sicilian school' of Rhetoric and to the instructions of Gorgias in particular. The names they have received from the Greek writers on Rhetoric are very numerous and sometimes confusing, but the following table contains all that are absolutely necessary for our present purpose :

- (i) ἀντίθεσις = a parallelism in sense,
- (ii) παρίσωσις = a parallelism in structure,
- (iii) παρομοίωσις = a parallelism in sound.

The last of these is subdivided into three species :

- 1. ὁμοιοκάταρκτον,
- 2. ὁμοιοτέλετον,
- 3. παρονομασία¹.

By ἀντίθεσις is meant 'the opposition either of words or sense, or both, in two corresponding clauses of a sentence;' e.g. contrast of words alone : διδότην γὰρ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ εὐδαίμων τῷ πένητι καὶ ἐνδεῇ : of sense alone, ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦτον νοσοῦντα ἐθεράπευσα, οὗτος δ' ἐμοὶ μεγίστων κακῶν αἴτιος γέγονεν ;

¹ For the varied meanings of these and similar terms, v. the passages quoted s. vv. either in Ernesti's *Lex. Technolog. Graec.* or in the *Index Rhetoricus* of Spengel's *Rhetores Graeci*. The simple classification adopted in the text is due to Mr Cope (*Journ. of Cl. and S. Philol.* No. VII. 69—72).—For examples, v. Index to this vol.

and of both words and sense, οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τοῦτον μὲν τὰ ἐμὰ ἔχοντα πλουτεῖν, ἐμὲ δὲ τὰ ὄντα προϊέμενον οὕτω πτωχεύειν¹.

By παμίσωσις is meant a 'general correspondence or equality in the forms of two sentences and includes ἰσόκωλα, which are sentences in which the two members are of the same length;' e.g. Isocr. *Helen*. § 17 (where the words, syllables and even the very accents correspond):

τοῦ μὲν ἐπίπονον καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον τὸν βίον κατέστησε,
τῆς δὲ περιβλεπτον καὶ περιμάχῃτον τὴν φύσιν ἐποίησε².

By παρομοίωσις (or παρήχσις) is meant parallelism in sound between words that are brought together in the same sentence. This includes the three varieties of ὁμοιοκάταρκτον, ὁμοιοτέλευτον, and παρονομασία. The first of these three terms may be used to denote similarity in the beginnings of words; the second, similarity in the endings; and the third, a general similarity of sound or form pervading the whole of the words.

The above figures have their origin in natural principles. Contrast of thought naturally expresses itself in contrast of words, hence the origin of ἀντίθεσις. The same principle extended to clauses and sentences gives us the origin of παρίσωσις; and lastly, the power of association, which causes one uttered sound to suggest another similar sound, leads to the development of παρομοίωσις. All these figures of form have their natural uses; and are unconsciously used by numbers who have never heard of Gorgias and the 'Sicilian school;' it is the *conscious* and deli-

¹ Anaximenes 'Πηγορ. πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, c. 26 (I. 212. *Rhet. Gr.* ed. Spengel). For striking instances of forced antithesis, v. Thuc. II. 40. 4 and V. 95, both of which exemplify Pascal's comparison, 'Ceux qui font des antithèses en forçant les mots sont comme ceux qui font de fausses fenêtres pour la symétrie.'

² εἰ δὲ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦτο καὶ ὁμοιοτέλευτόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει· πολλοὶ γὰρ λόγοι καὶ ἐκ δύο καὶ ἐκ πλειόνων σχημάτων σύγκεινται. Alexander *περὶ σχημάτων*, II. 26.—Lyly's *Euphues* will supply the reader with as many English instances as he pleases of all the figures mentioned in the text, e.g. 'either by wit to obtain some conquest, or by shame to abide some conflict (which is an instance of παρίσωσις, ὁμοιοκάταρκτον and (false) ἀντίθεσις).

berate use of them that is now claiming our attention. In the earlier writings of Isocrates these artistic devices have received one of their fullest exemplifications, but although often very effective, they are not unfrequently the result of manifest effort, and are spoiled by their painfully elaborate and artificial character. It is satisfactory however to notice that, in his old age, he abjures to a great extent the excessive use of these artificial ornaments. In the *Panathenaicus*, a speech published in the ninety-fourth year of his age, he tells us that in the days of his youth he made it his principle to write orations on matters of public interest to Athens and to Greece, orations 'fraught with many a parallelism in sense and in structure, and with the other figures that light up rhetorical compositions and extort applause from the audience,' but that such a fashion of speaking was ill suited to his grey hairs¹.

In conclusion, we must consider the style of Isocrates in relation to the constituent parts of his compositions and to the general effect thereby produced. There can be no dispute as to the excellence of his arrangement of these constituent parts; sometimes this appears in a careful and formal division of his orations into the four great sections of prelude, statement, proof, and peroration²; at other times, in a scrupulous observance of the wholesome (but not very original) rule which he is said to have laid down in his *Art of Rhetoric*; 'in narration, the first and the second and the remaining parts must be stated in due order; we must not before the first point is finished pass on to another and then from the very end revert to the first; and similarly in the case of each particular point, the ideas must be rounded off and complete in themselves³;' sometimes on the other hand he prefers, in the case of two separate narratives, which have several points in common, to interweave the relation

¹ *Panath.* § 2—3.

² 'Isocrates primus in quatuor partes orationem divisit, προοίμιον, διήγησιν, πείσεις, ἐπιλογον. v. Dionys. Halic. pp. 480—496.' Baiter and ppe, *Orat. Attici*, II. 224.

Baiter and Sauppe, *ib.* 225.

of the one with that of the other, taking care at the same time that no real obscurity shall arise from the apparent complication¹.

In the words of an eminent critic, his speeches have generally 'one leading idea, of suitable importance, fertile in its consequences, and capable of evoking not only thought but feeling; in these leading thoughts he seizes certain points opposed to one another, such as the old and the new times, or the power of the Greeks and that of the Barbarians; and expanding the leading idea in a regular series of sequences and conclusions, he introduces at every step in the composition the propositions which contradict it in its details, and in this way unfolds an abundance of variations always pervaded and marked by a recurrence of the original subject; so that, although there is great variety, the whole may be comprehended at one glance'².

The general effect of each of his writings (so far as it can be broadly stated without entering into detail on all their diversified subjects) is exactly what might be expected from the facts that have been already stated. At the end of our perusal we feel that it is the graceful rhetorician and not the vehement orator, the dexterous fencer and not the bold man of battle, that has engaged our attention: that we have been listening only to the thin, clear echoes of a silver chime, and not to the thunders of a Pericles or a Demosthenes.

Isocrates in his sententiousness, his prosiness, and self-laudation, as well as in his length of years, is emphatically the Nestor of the 'Attic orators';

'Nestor the leader of the Pylian host,
The smooth-tongued chief, from whose persuasive lips
Sweeter than honey flowed the stream of speech.
Two generations of the sons of men
For him were past and gone, who with himself

¹ v. p. 78. n.

² Müller's *Gk. Literature*, c. xxxvi.

Were born and bred on Pylos' lovely shore,
And o'er the third he now held royal sway.'

Born in the era of Pericles, Isocrates reached the era of Philip. The year of his birth was 436 B.C., eight years after that of Xenophon and Aristophanes, and eight years before that of Plato. He survived all three, and had only two years more been added to his days, he would have lived a whole century and seen Alexander ascend the throne of Macedon. As it was, he died in the year 338 B.C. shortly after the battle of Chaeroneia¹. He was buried in the sepulchre of his family and near his tomb was placed a tablet representing his various instructors, and among them stood Gorgias, (with Isocrates beside him), while the tomb itself was surmounted with a lofty pillar, which was crowned with a Siren as an emblem of his style².

¹ The traditionary story, which attributes his death to the grief and disappointment caused by the news of that battle, is probably untrue. It is recorded by Pausanias (*Attic.* 18), Lucian (*Μακρόβιοι*, 23), and Pseudo-Plutarch, and is familiarised by Milton's allusion (in his 10th sonnet) to the 'Dishonest victory...fatal to liberty' which 'killed with report that old man eloquent;' but the 3rd letter (the genuineness of which can hardly be doubted) contains a special congratulation to Philip, which must refer to this very victory. Isocrates was very weak at the time when he wrote the letter (*παντάπασιν ἀπειρηκώς*) and probably died not long after. (v. *Blass* quoted on p. xxx.)

² Philostrat. *vit. Soph.* I. 17, ἡ σειρὴν ἢ ἐφεστηκυῖα τῷ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ σοφιστοῦ σήματι...πειθὼ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός κ.τ.λ. Pseudo-Plutarch *vit. X. orat.* κίων τριάκοντα πηχῶν, ἐφ' οὗ σειρὴν πηχῶν ἐπὶ συμβολικῶς, ὅς νῦν οὐ σώζεται.

A SELECTION OF PASSAGES BEARING ON THE STYLE OF ISOCRATES.
(Only the shortest, the most interesting, or the least accessible, are here printed).

ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Νέος ἔτι, ὦ Φαῖδρε, Ἰσοκράτης* ὁ μέντοι μαντεύομαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, λέγειν ἐθέλω.

ΦΑΙΔΡΟΣ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ;

ΣΟ. Δοκεῖ μοι ἀμείνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Λυσίαν εἶναι λόγους τὰ τῆς φύσεως, ἔτι τε ἡθεὶ γεννικωτέρῳ κεκρᾶσθαι ὥστε οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο θαυμαστὸν προΐουσης τῆς ἡλικίας εἰ περὶ αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς λόγους, οἷς νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ, πλεον ἢ παίδων διενέγκοι τῶν πρόποτε ἀψαμένων λόγων, εἴτε* εἰ αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποχρήσαι ταῦτα, ἐπὶ μείζω [δέ] τις αὐτὸν ἄγοι ὁρμῇ θειοτέρα. φύσει γάρ, ὦ φίλε, ἔνεστι τις φιλοσοφία τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοῇ.

* *varia lectio* ἔτι τε... μείζω δέ.

PLATO, *Phaedrus*, p. 279.

For Aristotle's quotations see Index to this volume, p. 168, col. 2.

Ὅμοιοι τελευτα et ἰσοκατάληκτα et πάρισα et ὁμοῖοπτωτα ceteraque huiusmodi scitamenta, quae isti apirocali, qui se Isocratio videri volunt, in collocandis verbis inmodice faciunt et rancide, quam sint insubida et inertia et puerilia, facitissime hercle significat in quinto saturarum Lucilius. (148—103 B.C).

...Hoc 'nolue'-(ris) et 'debueris' te

Si minus deleat, quod ἄτεχρον et Eisocratium est

Ὀχληρόν τε simul totum ac συμμερακιῶδες,

Non operam perdo.

AUL. GELLIUS, *Noct. Attic.* XVIII. 8.

Suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes habuit. Quis eorum non egregius? tamen quis cuiusquam nisi sui similis.

CICERO, *De Oratore*, III. viii. 28. v. *ib.* II. iii. 10 (pater eloquentiae¹ xxii. 94; and III. xlv. 175.—*Orator*, xii. 38; xiii. 40—42; xlv. 141—151; li. 172; and lii. 174—176.—*Brutus*, viii. 32—34, and *Err. ad Atticum*, II. I. 1 (Isocrati μυροθήκιον).

Ὁ δ' Ἰσοκρατικός (sc. λόγος) κομψεύεται μὲν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σεμνότητος, καὶ πανηγυρικώτερός ἐστι μᾶλλον, ἢ δικανικώτερος. ἔχει δὲ τὸν κόσμον μετ' ἐνεργείας, καὶ πομπικός ἐστι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνυστικοῦ καὶ χρησίμου· οὐ μὴν ἀγωνιστικός· περιγράφων δὲ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ταῖς περιόδοις, καὶ ὅλως μεσότητα

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σωφρονίζων λιτότητι, τὸ δὲ λιτὸν ἐξαίρων. καὶ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ζηλωτέον τὴν τε τῶν ὀνομάτων συνέχειαν, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁλῆς ἰδέας ἐπιδεικτικόν.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus. (ob. B.C. 7).

τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίσις v. 2.

...πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ Δυσίου λέξις ἔχειν τὸ χάριεν, ἡ δ' Ἰσοκράτους βούλεται.
de Isocrate judicium, 3.

ἀναγνώσεως μᾶλλον οικειότερός ἐστιν ἡ ῥήσεως.

ib. 3.

δουλεῖει ἡ διάνοια πολλὰκις τῷ ῥυθμῷ τῆς λέξεως καὶ τοῦ κομποῦ λείπεται τὸ ἀληθινόν.

ib. 12.

Clarissimus ille praeceptor Isocrates, quem non magis libri bene dixisse, quam discipuli bene docuisse testantur.

QUINTILIAN (40—118 A.D.), *Inst. Or.* II. 8. 11.

(After characterizing Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides and Lysias) Isocrates in diverso genere dicendi nitidus et comptus et palaestrae quam pugnae magis accommodatus, omnes dicendi Veneres sectatus est, nec immerito; auditoriis enim se, non iudiciis compararat; in inventione facilis, honesti studiosus, in compositione adeo diligens, ut cura eius reprehendatur.

ib. x. 1. 79.

Nam mihi videtur M. Tullius, cum se totum ad imitationem Graecorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, iucunditatem Isocratis. Nec vero quod in quoque optimum fuit, studio consecutus est tantum; sed plurimas vel potius omnes ex se ipso virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissima ubertas.

ib. x. 1. 108. v. also ix. 4. 35—36, 3. 74, xii. 10. 49.

πολὺ τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς λέξεως παρ' Ἰσοκράτει.

HERMOGENES (fl. 2nd cent. A.D.), *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, α (*Rhetores Graeci*, II. pp. 277 and 283, ed. Spengel).

...ὁ δὲ Ἰσοκράτης μὴ οὔσαν φύσει παρίσσωσιν ἐβιάσατο ἂν γενέσθαι, διὰ τὸ μέλει αὐτῷ κάλλους μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἢ πιθανότητος καὶ ἀληθείας.

ib. p. 334. cf. *ib.* p. 338 fin. and p. 412.

οὐκ ἀχρεῖον δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους παραγγελημάτων ἐντρέπεσθαι, μὴ τραχύειν τὸν λόγον τῇ παραθέσει καὶ συμπλοκῇ τῶν καλουμένων φωνηέντων, ἀ τὴν κρᾶσιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται καὶ τὸν λόγον οὐχ ὁμοίως συνυφαίνειν ἔοικε, οὔτε λείως τε καὶ ἀπταιστως εἰς τὴν ἀκοὴν παρίησιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ πνεύμονος καὶ ἐπίσχει τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς φωνῆς.

LONGINUS (fl. 3rd cent. A.D.), *Ars Rhetorica*, ap. *Rhetores Gr.* I. 306, ed. Spengel.

ON THE TEXT OF ISOCRATES.

THE text of Isocrates is perhaps in a sounder condition than that of any Greek author. Wolf and Coray effected all that the aid of inferior MSS allowed, but a new era in Isocratean criticism began with Bekker's discovery of the *codex Urbinas*. The other MSS are supposed to have been transcribed from earlier copies that had been annotated with interlinear and marginal explanations taken down by pupils in the lecture-rooms of ancient expositors of Isocrates¹. These explanations were carelessly copied into the text, but the *codex Urbinas* enabled Bekker to remove the interpolations and to restore the true readings in a great number of passages. It must not be however supposed that this famous MS is infallible; although possibly the best of all Greek MSS, it is after all only the best among the bad, and those who are likely to be carried away by the characteristic enthusiasm and poetic diction of the Zurich editors² may have their attention drawn with advantage to the following blunders, a few of which I quote (from the *Panegyricus* alone):—§ 29 ἡδίστους τὰς ἐλπίδας (for ἡδίους), § 103 τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐδαιμονίας (for ἡγεμονίας), § 142 Κοίνωνος for Κόνωνος, § 157 ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τῶν μυστηρίων (for ἐν τῇ τελετῇ), and § 176 τὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐλαττοῦντα (for ἐτέρους). But these and similar mistakes are too obvious to mislead the critic, or in any great degree to impair the value of its readings. The *cod. Urb.* must therefore be the basis of every edition of

¹ v. Baiter and Sauppe, praef. ii.

² 'I. Bekkerus limpidum fontem, cuius memoria interciderat, feliciter invenit, atque solerti opera effecit, ut dictionis isocrateae pellucidae undae per alveum suum latum magis quam profundum placide queant decurrere.'
ib. i.

Isocrates.—The next place must be assigned to the *cod. Ambrosianus*, which sometimes alone preserves the true reading; and, when it agrees with the *cod. Urb.*, the combined authority is almost irresistible.

The principle of the Zurich editors is to follow the MSS as closely as possible, even where the usage of Isocrates would suggest another reading; the principle advocated by Benseler in the Teubner edition of 1851 is to follow the usage of Isocrates, even when the MSS are against him. In Benseler's preface the following canons are laid down:

- (1) *Ubi in Isocratis scriptis hiatus restat, ibi locus est corruptus, aut non Isocrateus.*
- (2) *Ad æquabilitatem membrorum et antithetorum studium debet attendere, qui Isocratis verba est restitutus.*
- (3) *Isocr. se non minus in elegendis quam in connectendis verbis diligentissimum præstitit scriptorem.*
- (4) *Isocr. dialecto usitata cum iudicio quidem sed constanter usus est.*
- (5) *Isocr. orationes suas ad unam speciem confirmavit easdemque sententias iisdem verbis expressas sæpius repetiit.*
- (6) *Isocr. sua bene excogitavit et disposuit.*

In accordance with these canons supplemented by the authority of the best MSS he published an edition of the text in 1851. The respect due to a veteran editor whose familiarity with his author was shown as far back as the year 1829, ought not perhaps to prevent us from venturing for a moment to doubt the soundness of his application of these principles. All of his canons are useful, as an indication of the general usage of the author, but it does not follow that every single passage must be corrected to suit those general principles. The first is perhaps the least satisfactory of all and must be accepted with considerable reserve, but the others are more trustworthy, and their application, if conducted with caution, may be of great service in settling the text.

The text of the present edition is mainly based on that of the Zurich editors supplemented by Benseler's editions. My

first intention was simply to reprint the text of the Teubner series; but it was not long before I found that many of its readings were untenable; I have therefore resorted, in many cases, to the safer readings of the Zurich editors—a course which has been amply justified by Benseler's new edition of the Panegyricus and the Philippus (in 1854). The edition contains a German translation and very copious notes, mainly on the subject-matter and on the errors of previous translators. In this excellent edition, which, I regret to say, did not reach me until more than half the Panegyricus was in type, the editor has himself, in at least twenty instances, deserted his former readings.

The following account of the more important MSS is necessary to explain the details of the table of readings. It is copied from Baiter's preface to the Panegyricus—which is now out of print—and is supplemented with extracts from the preface of the Zurich editors.

I. *Codicum Isocrateorum* duas familias distinxit Bekkerus, quae cum aliis rebus inter se differunt, tum Antidosi aut integra aut mutila. Ex hoc genere unus nominandus est antiquissimus

Cod. Vaticanus 65 (A), membranaceus, forma quadrata, foliis 304 versuum vicenorum binorum. ἐτελειώθη ἡ βίβλος αὐτῇ παρὰ θεοδώρου ὑπάτου καὶ βασιλικοῦ νοταρίου γραφεῖσα οἰκείᾳ χειρὶ μὴν ἀπριλλίῳ...ἔτ. 5, φσα. (i. e. 6571 A. M. Const. = 1063 p. Chr. n.) Continet omnes orationes [sed ejus quae est ad Demonicum partem majorem manus alia multo recentior supplevit]. In margine leguntur scholia pauca et exigui momenti, tum ab eadem manu scripta tum a seriori. Epistolae desunt. Hoc codice, ex Italia in bibliothecam Parisiensem Imperialem translato, postea suae sedi restituto, primum usus est Coray, qui eum totum excussit; praesto erat etiam Bekkerus, qui Callimacheam et Nicianam cum eo contulit.

Alterius generis adhuc innotuerunt quattuor; quorum praestantissimus est

Cod. Urbinas 111 (T), "membranaceus, forma quadrata, foliis 420, paginis versuum 24 et sub finem 26, a duabus scriptus manibus, quarum prima ad folium 326 r. pertinet, margine a pluribus corrigentium variasque lectiones apponentium oppleta. neque iis se finibus continuit correctorum temeritas, sed textum quoque adorta effecit ut multis locis, quid ab initio scriptum fuerit, dignosci non possit. nocuit etiam maior, quo factum est ut subinde folia foliis adhaerescerent. insunt orationes 19, desunt Callimachea et Niciana." Haec Bekkerus, qui nihil de aetate codicis annotavit.

xxiv ON THE TEXT OF ISOCRATES.

In fine Busiridis subscribitur: βούσειρις ΗΗΗΙΔΙΔΔΔΔ. ἐλικώνιος ἀμα τοῖς ἑταίροις θεοδώρῳ καὶ εὐσταθίῳ. Insunt etiam epistolae [ix]. Hunc codicem totum excussit Bekkerus, eumque editioni suae quasi fundamentum subjecit. [Urbinitis tanta est bonitas, ut non solum Isocratis ceteris codicibus omnibus, sed etiam aliorum scriptorum graecorum libris manu scriptis plerisque antistet milibus trecentis.]

Cod. Vaticanus 936 (Δ), "bombycinus, forma et ipse quadrata, foliis 234, quorum 184—222 Themistio data sunt. Themistium excipiunt Isocratis epistolae. communem hujus cum Urbinate originem arguit communis in extrema Antidosi lacuna, desunt et quae Urbinati desunt, et de Bigis oratio." Cum hoc Bekkerus contulit Evagoram, Helenam, Sophistas, Antidosin. [Insunt orationes xviii, et Epistolae ix, desunt Callimachea, Niciana, de Bigis.]

Cod. Laurentianus (Θ), ['papyraceus, in 4, saeculi XIII. madore et tineis multis locis male redactus' Bandini ap. BS.] "foliis 145; Aristotelem habet De Mundo, Isocratis orationes undecim (Hel. Evag. Bus. Paneg. Areop. Plat. Archid. Soph. Phil. Panath. Antid.), Polemonis de Callimacho et Cynaegiro declamationes, Theophrasti characteres primos." Cum hoc Bekkerus contulit dumtaxat Archidamum; ex Antidosi varias lectiones indicaverat Mustoxydes, cui scriptus videtur seculo XII. In Archidamo parvi momenti est, multo majoris in Antidosi, ubi interdum solus veram Isocratis manum servavit.

Cod. Ambrosianus (E), bombycinus, saeculi XIV. ut videtur Mustoxydi. Fuerat Michaëlis Sophiani; Mediolanum adductus est ex insula Chio a. 1606. Perhibebatur continere Panathenaicum ceteris auctiorem (vid. Colomesius Opusc. p. 36 sqq.), quod tamen negant et Mustoxydes et Angelus Maius. Error natus videtur e permutatione duarum orationum, Panathenaici et Antidoseos. [Continet orationes xxii. Epistolae novem in ΓΔΕ leguntur hoc ordine: 1. ad Dionysium. 2. ad Archidamum. 3. ad Iasonis liberos. 4. ad Timotheum. 5. secunda ad Philippum. 6. prima ad Philippum. 7. ad Alexandrum. 8. ad Antipatrum. 9. ad Mytilenaeorum magistratus.] Ex hoc codice primum integra edita est Antidosis, praeter quam hucusque cum eo collatae sunt quattuor orationes [Archid., Socialis, Trapez., Paneg.]. [Baiterus a. 1832 excussit reliqua.]

Copiae victorianae (Viçt.), lectionis varietas a P. Victorio in exemplari suo editionis Aldinae margini annotata.

Cod. Scaphusianus (Ζ), chartaceus, sec. XV. a Graeca manu eleganter scriptus...In oratione ad Demonicum est optimae notae et aliquot locis ipsi Urbinati anteponendus.

TABLE OF VARIOUS READINGS.

The following table represents, so far as I am aware, all the discrepancies between the text of Baiter and Sauppe (in the Zurich edition of the *Oratores Attici*, 1839) and the text of Benseler (in the Teubner series, 1851).

Vulg. denotes the readings of Coray's ed. so far as they are based on MSS; in *Paneg.* §§ 52—99 Ambr. 1, Ambr. 2, are used to distinguish between the Ambrosian MS in the *Paneg.* and the same MS in the corresponding passage of the *Or. de Perm.* (v. p. 72. n.) The MSS are only quoted where necessary. When nothing is said to the contrary, the text of Baiter and Sauppe has MS authority.

AD DEMONICUM.

	<i>Baiter and Sauppe.</i>	<i>Benseler.</i>
§ 4	λόγον Urb.	λόγον μόνον Vulg.
6	ἐλυμήνατο Scaph. and Urb. (marg.)	ἐβλαψε Urb.
9	ὑφίστατο Urb. (corr.) and Scaph.	ὑπέμενεν Urb. <i>prima manu</i>
10	γένει Scaph.	τῷ γένει Urb.
12	δοκεῖς (<i>conj.</i> Bekker)	δοκοίης
13	νόμοις	ἔρκοις Urb. Scaph.
19	μόνον τῶν κτημάτων	μόνον τῶν χρημάτων Urb. Scaph.
26	τὰς κατὰ γῆν	κατὰ γῆν Scaph.
29	τοῖς φίλοις συνάχθονται	συνάχθονται Ambr. Scaph.
29	βελτίω	βέλτιστα Ambr. Scaph.
34	γνώσιν Urb. [γνώμην Vulg.]	διάνοιαν (Priscian)
35	ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ Urb.	ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ Scaph.
37	οἷά περ Vulg. [οἷ' ἂν <i>conj.</i> Schn.]	οἷα Urb. Scaph. and Ambr. <i>prima manu</i>
38	ἡ δὲ [ⁱⁿ Urb. fuit τὸ vel τὰ' Bekk.]	ἡ δὲ
47	ἐλυπήθημεν	ἐλυπήθησαν Urb. Scaph.
	δι' αὐτὰ τὰ Scaph.	διὰ τὰ Urb.
	ἐνεκεν Urb.	ἐνεκα Vulg.
9	φήσομεν	φήσωμεν Urb.
	χρωμένους	χρωμένοις Urb. ('vitiose.' Strange)

PANEGYRICUS.

In the right-hand column *t.* denotes Benseler's reading in the Teubner Series (1851), *tr.* that of Benseler's revised text published in (1854). The asterisk denotes that Benseler has deserted his former reading and returned to that of Baiter and Sauppe.

	<i>Baiter and Sauppe.</i>	<i>Benseler.</i>
1	ἐαυτῶν MSS.	αὐτῶν
2	ἐνὸς δὲ	ἐνὸς δ'
4	τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν πώποτε	<i>t.</i> μηδὲν πώποτε τοῖς ἄλλοις <i>tr.</i> [πώποτε μηδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Urb.]

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	<i>Baiter and Sauppe.</i>	<i>Benseler.</i>
14	μηδὲν Urb. <i>pr.</i>	τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν Ambr. Vict.
17	τῷ πόλῃ αὐταῖς (<i>conj.</i>)	τῷ πόλει Urb. (<i>corr.</i>) and Ambr. <i>t. αὐταῖς tr.</i> MSS.
18	δυσπείστως	δυσπείστως <i>t.</i> δυσπίστως <i>tr.</i> Urb. Ambr.
19	φιλονικίας Urb.	φιλονικίας <i>t.</i> Urb. φιλονεικίας <i>tr.</i> Ambr.
23	ἀμφισβητούντας Urb.	+ περὶ αὐτῶν Ambr.
28	δόουσης δωρεὰς διττὰς Ambr.	δόουσης δωρεὰς διττὰς <i>t.</i> Ambr. — διττὰς <i>tr.</i> Urb.
29	ὠφελίας Urb.	ὠφελείας Ambr.
33	ὁμολογουμένους MSS.	ὁμολογουμένους <i>t.</i> ὁμολογουμένους <i>tr.</i> (<i>conj.</i>) Wolf. 'Quod malim.' Baiter)
38	καλῶς *θεῶν Urb.	καλῶν καλῶς Urb. Ambr. τῶν θεῶν Ambr.
41	δὲ ἀσφαλεστάτην	δ' ἀσφαλεστάτην
43	σπεισασμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους	σπεισασμένους Urb.
44	*εὐτυχίας MSS.	εὐξίας (<i>conj.</i> Bekker)
45	ἔτι δὲ ἀγῶνας	ἔτι δ' ἀγῶνας
51	ὑποθέμενος Urb.	ὑποθέμενος ἐρεῖν Ambr.
56	ἐαυτῶν Urb. Ambr. 1 and 2	αὐτῶν
57	αὐτοῦ Urb. Ambr. 2, Laur.	αὐτῶν Ambr. 1
59	*βιάσασθαι MSS.	βιάσεσθαι (<i>conj.</i> Morus)
60	ἔσχε Ambr. 1 and 2, Laur.	ἔσχεν Urb.
	ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς	ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς
62	*εἰσβαλεῖν Urb. Ambr. 1, and Laur.	εἰσβάλλειν Ambr. 2 ('quod malim propter καθιστάναί... διδόναι.. ἀξιούν.' Baiter)
	διατελοῦσι MSS.	διατελοῦσιν
65	Πελοποννησίους Urb. Ambr. 1	Πελοποννησίων Ambr. 2 and Laur.
66	ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων Urb. Ambr. 1 and Laur.	+ στὰς Ambr. 2 and Vat. Δ <i>de Permi.</i>
70	τοσοῦτον Urb. Ambr. 2, and Laur.	+ διὰ τὴν τότε στράτειαν Ambr. 1
73	με ἀγνοεῖν τοῖν πολέων Urb.	μ' ἀγνοεῖν τοῖν πόλεων τούτων Laur. (τοῖν πολέων ταύτων Ambr. 1, and ταῖν πολέων τούτων Vict.)
74	μικρὰ δ' ἔτι [μικρὰ δὲ Ambr. 2, Laur.]	<i>t.</i> μικρὰ δέ τι <i>tr.</i> Urb. Ambr. 1. [<i>leg.</i> μικρὰ δ' ἔτι J. E. S.]
76	τοιαῦτα τυγχάνοι (αὐτὰ τυγχάνοι Urb. Ambr. 2, and αὐτὰ τυγχάνει Ambr. 1)	τυγχάνοι τοιαῦτα Laur.
78	τοὺς νόμους Urb. Ambr. 1	τοὺς μὲν νόμους Ambr. 2, Laur.
83	σύμπασαν Ἑλλάδα Urb. Ambr. 1 and 2 *ἔμελλον MSS.	Ἑλλάδα σύμπασαν (Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν Laur.) ἔμελλον ['In 7 passages in Isocr. all MSS. have ἔμελλ-, in 12 Urb. has ἔμελλ-, Strange ap. Jahn's <i>ῥητορ.</i>]
84	τελευτήσαιεν Urb. Ambr. 1 and 2	τελευτήσειαν Laur.

TABLE OF VARIOUS READINGS. xxvii

	<i>Baiter and Sauppe.</i>	<i>Benseler.</i>
86	*κινδυνεύειν Urb. ἐφθόησαν Urb. Ambr. 2 and Laur.	κινδυνεύσειν Ambr. 1 and 2, Laur. ἐφθασαν Ambr. 1
87	*τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων MSS.	τὴν βαρβάρων <i>t.</i>
93	*τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ambr. 2 and Laur. (τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ambr. 1)	τῶν ἄλλων Urb.
97	καὶ οὐδὲ MSS. [καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ <i>conj.</i> F. Ritschl ¹]	καὶ μὴδὲ ap. Dionys. Halic.
98	*ἐμελλήσαν Urb.	ἐμελέτησαν Ambr. 1
105	ναυμαχήσαντες Urb. et al. δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι Vulg. (coll. <i>ad Nicocl.</i> 14, <i>Arcor.</i> 64) [Urb. <i>prim. man.</i> δεινοί]	συνναυμαχήσαντες Laur. δεινὸν οὐδόμενοι Urb. corr. et Ambr.
107	διετέλεσαν (<i>conj.</i> Bekker)	διετέλεσαν <i>t.</i> διετέλεσαμεν <i>tr.</i> Urb. Ambr.
	μεγίστην, καὶ κεκτημένοι Urb. σύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι — (ἄλλοι σύμπαντες Ambr.)	μεγίστην, κεκτημένοι Ambr. σύμπαντες Urb.
108	ὑποκειμένης Urb. *οἱ ('placet ὅσοι' Sauppe)	<i>t.</i> ὑποκειμένης δὲ <i>tr.</i> Ambr. ὅσοι ('vel εἶναι vel ὅσοι habere videtur Urbinas' Bekker)
110	δεκαδαρχιῶν Urb. *διαλυμνημένοι Urb. Ambr. Viçt.	δεκαρχιῶν Ambr. Viçt. λυμνημένοι <i>t.</i>
111	*ἐνίοις Ambr. ('fort. verum est ἐνί' Sauppe) *καὶ φονέας MSS.	ἐνί Urb. [καὶ φονέας]
113	*ἐφίκοντο; ἢ MSS. τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις Urb. Ambr.	ἐφίκοντ' ἢ τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις
120	ἀναγεγραμμένας Urb.	γεγραμμένας Ambr. Viçt.
122	ὧν ἄξιον	<i>t.</i> ὧν ἂν ἄξιον <i>tr.</i> [ἀν ἄξιον Ambr. ἀνάξιον Urb.]
125	πρότερον μὲν τοὺς MSS. συγκαθιστάσι MSS.	πρότερον μὲν τοὺς μὲν (<i>conj.</i> Baiter) συγκαθιστάσω
130	ἔστι δὲ οὐχ τοιαῦτα λέγοντας Urb. Ambr.	ἔστι δ' οὐχ λοιδοροῦντας } Vulg. coll.
135	λοιδοροῦντας Urb. Ambr.	τοιαῦτα πράττοντας } <i>de Pace</i> § 72
139	ἡμᾶς τε οἰκείως *μεγάλας τὰς ῥοπὰς Urb. Ambr.	ἡμᾶς τ' οἰκείως μεγάλας ῥοπὰς
144	ἐπῆρχε Urb. δὲ Ἀταρνέα δὲ ὀλίγω	ἐπῆρξε Ambr. δ' Ἀταρνέα δ' ὀλίγω
145	*τὸν βασιλέως Urb. Ambr. Viçt.	τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως
146	φauλόττητα ἐν MSS.	φauλόττητα ἐν (<i>conj.</i>)
147	*ἐπιβουλήs MSS. except. Urb.	ἐπιβολήs Urb.
149	ἀπώλοντο	ἀπώλονθ'
153	ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν	ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν <i>t.</i> —ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν MSS. <i>tr.</i>
156	ἐπηράσαντο	ἐπηράσαντ'
158	τῶν δ' ἐπὶ	τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ Urb. Ambr.

¹ *Rheinisches Museum*, xxiii 4 (1868), p. 691.

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	<i>Baier and Sauppe.</i>	<i>Benseler.</i>
160	δν οὐκ ἀφετέον Urb. <i>prima manu.</i>	οὐ σαφέστερον οὐδέν· δν οὐκ ἀφετέον Ambr. et Urb. <i>sec. manu.</i>
161	*ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐκείνου *οὐδεὶς Ambr.	ἐχθρῶν ἐκείνου Urb. οὐδ' εἰς al. MSS.
163	ἐάν MSS.	ἀν
165	ἀποκλίναιεν Urb. Ambr. ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν	ἀποκλίνειαν Vict. ἐκείνοι μὲν ἔ. Urb. et Ambr.—ἐκεί- νοι μὲν [οὖν] <i>tr.</i>
171	*ἐξεστηκόσι MSS.	ἐξεστῶσι <i>ἔ.</i>
173	ὠφελίας Urb.	ὠφελείας Ambr. Vict.
176	*ἀ χρῆν Urb. Ambr.	ἀ ἔχρην <i>ἔ.</i>
178	δὲ ἄρτι	δ' ἄρτι
179	*πρὸς ἀνθρώπους Urb. Ambr.	πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
183	πολλαχῇ [πολλαχοῦ Urb.]	πολλαχῇ ἔ. πολλαχῇ <i>tr.</i> Ambr.
187	ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι	+ καὶ νῦν
189	μεγάλα Urb. Ambr. Vict. αὐτοὶ τε	μεγάλ' αὐτοὶ τ

LIST OF EDITIONS.

The following are the editions of Isocrates so far as they are known to the present editor.

(1) The *editio princeps*, Demetrius Chalcondylas, Milan, 1493. It commences with the life of Isocr. as told by Pseudo-Plutarch, Philostratus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The Epistles are omitted and the volume closes with a device indicating the name of the printer:—Ulric Scinczenzeller. (2) The *Aldine* ed., Venice, 1513 &c. (3) The ed. of *Ferome Wolf*. 'Ἰσοκράτους ἅπαντα.' Isocratis scripta Graeco-Latina, postremo recognita, annotationibus novis et eruditius illustrata..., Hieronymo Wolfio Oetingensi interprete et auctore... Basileae ex officina Oporiniana. 1570 fol. [edd. pr. 1548, 1551].—This ed. contains the first modern *commentary* on Isocr. The text with lat. trans. occupies more than 600 pages; the notes, which are sometimes prolix and irrelevant, but often good, occupy more than 700. (4) *Henry Stephens*, Paris, 1593 fol. with 7 *diatribae*. (5) *William Battie* (fellow of King's Coll. Cambr.) 1729. (6) *Athanasius Auger*, Paris, 1782. (7) *Gulielmus Lange*, Halis, 1803. (8) *Coray*, 'Ἰσοκράτους λόγοι καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ μετὰ σχολίων παλαιῶν οἷς προσετέθησαν σημειώσεις... παιδείας ἕνεκα τῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν διδασκομένων Ἑλλήνων. [Paris, 1807—8]. (9) *Bekker*, Oxford, 1822, Berlin, 1823. (10) *W. Dindorf*, Leipsig, 1825. (11) *W. S. Dobson*, London, 1828. (12) *Baiter and Sauppe*, Zurich, 1839. (13) *Baiter*, Paris (Didot) 1846. (14) *Benseler*, Leipsig, 1851 (and with new *title-page*, 1856).

In the above list (4), (5), (6), (13), have little besides a Lat. translation, (11) is a useful (but uneven) *variorum* ed., (12) and (14) are now the best for textual criticism, (3) and (8) for exegesis.

(II) The best Commentaries on *ad Demonicum* and *Panegyricus*:—

(1) *Opuscula Graecorum veterum sententiosa et moralia*; collegit... et illustravit Io. Conrad Orelli. Tomus II. pp. 18—42, 522—569, Isocratis quae fertur Admonitio ad Demonicum. Lipsiae, 1821. (2) ed. J. G. Strangius 1831. (3) Isokrates ausgewählte Reden, Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Dr Otto Schneider. I. Bändchen *Demonicus*, *Euagoras*, *Areopagiticus*. Teubner, Leipsig, 1859. II. Bändchen *Panegyricus*, *Philippus*, 1860. (4) *Paneg.* recens. et illustr. S. F. N. Morus ed. 3 auctor, Lipsiae, 1804. (5) *Paneg.* cum brevi annot. crit. ed. Pinzger, Leipsig, 1825. (6) *Isocr. orat. commentariis instructae* ab I. H. Bremi (*Paneg.*, *Archid.*, *de Pace*, *Trapezit.*), Gothae, 1831. (7) *Paneg.* cum Mori suisque annotationibus

edidit *F. A. G. Spöhn*: ed. altera emendatio et auctior: curavit *I. G. Baister*. Lipsiae, 1831. [Out of print.] (8) *Isokrates' Panegyrikos* und *Philippos*. Berichtigt, übersetzt und erklärt von *Dr Gustav Eduard Benseler*. Engelmann, Leipsig, 1854. (9) *Ausgewählte Reden des Isokrates, Panegyricus und Areopagiticus*, erklärt von *Dr R. Rauchenstein*. Weidmann (Reimer), Berlin [1849, 1855], 1864.

The commentaries to which the present editor is particularly indebted are (3), (7), (8) and (9).

III. Subsidia.

Harpocratonis lex. in x oratores Att. ex recens. G. Dindorf. Oxon. 1853.

Schirach, G. B. Diss. II. de vita et genere scribendi Isocr. Halae Magd. 1765. Pp. 30, pp. 58.

Mitchell, T. (Coll. Sidn. Cantab. Soc.) Index Graec. Isoc. Oxon. 1828.

Dobree, P. P. Adversaria I. pp. 263—285. Cambridge, 1831, 2.

Strange, J. G. Bemerkungen zu den Reden des Isocr. Jahn's neue Jahrbücher für Philologie. Suppl. III. 439 sqq. 562 sqq. 1824.

Pfund, J. G. de Isocr. vita et scriptis. Berolini, 1833. pp. 24.

Stallbaum, G. Isocratea ad illustrandas Phaedr. Plat. origines, Lipsiae, 1850. pp. 21.

Vischer, W. zu Isokr. Paneg. § 106, Schneidewin's *Philologus*, 1855. p. 245—9.

Spengel, L. Isokrates u. Platon. München, 1856.

Schröder, H. P. Quaestiones Isocr. duae. (1) Socrates sitne in Isocr. praeceptoribus numerandus. (2) Isocr. qualis fuerit homo. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1859. pp. 200.

Le discours d'Isocrate sur lui-même, intitulé, sur l'Antidosis, traduit en Français... par *Auguste Cartelier*, revu et publié avec le texte, une introduction [D'Isocrate en général, pp. ciii] et des notes, par *Ernest Havet*, [pp. 257] Paris, 1862.

Blass, F. Isokrates' dritter Brief und die gewöhnliche Erzählung von seinem Tode. Rheinisches Museum, 1865. 109—116.

Thompson, Dr. W. H. Plato, *Phaedr.* London, 1868. Appendix II. on the Philosophy of Isocrates, and his relation to the Socratic schools. pp. 170—183.

INTRODUCTION.

AD DEMONICUM.

THE treatise which bears this name chiefly consists of a series of moral maxims addressed to one Demonicus. After a brief introduction (§§ 1—12), the writer commences a series of practical precepts of a very diversified nature, as may be seen at a glance from the summary of §§ 13—43 in the following commentary. At the end of these precepts, the writer concludes with an epilogue consisting partly of expressions of hope that the fair promise of the boyhood of Demonicus may be fulfilled in his advancing youth, partly of appeals to the need of cultivating self-denial and industry, and to the lasting happiness which crowns a virtuous life.

Of the personality of Demonicus nothing is known except what is stated in the treatise or may be easily deduced therefrom. We find that he was still young (§ 44), and that he had recently lost his father Hipponicus, whose character was well known and admired by the writer (§§ 2, 9—11). He is recommended to do all honour to kings, to obey their laws, and to ensure their good will (§ 36). He therefore must have lived in a monarchical state, but could not himself have belonged to the royal family¹.

Doubts have often been raised as to the authorship of the treatise. It is found in all the best manuscripts of Isocrates,

¹ Hence he could hardly have been king of Cyprus as stated by Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (Emp. of East, 911—959 A.D.), nor son of Evagoras king of Cyprus as stated by Tzetzes (Byzantine Grammarian, flourished 12th century, A.D.)

*θανόντος Εὐαγόρου δὲ, γράφει πρὸς παῖδα τούτου,
ὃ κληθεῖς ἦν Δημόνικος, πολλὰς τὰς παραιτήσεις.*

it is quoted as his by a critic of the first century B.C. and a rhetorician of the second century A.D., but its genuineness has nevertheless been sharply attacked. The anonymous writer of the argument (v. p. 1 *infra*) states that certain persons held it spurious (in common with the *ad Nicoclem* and *Nicocles*) because of its 'feebleness of diction' (τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς φράσεως); and, in more recent times, the assault has been renewed by Henry Stephens¹, and in the present century by Coray and Benseler.

Stephens opens his case by stating that scarcely a hundredth part of the readers of Isocrates can be aware that there are three writers of that name, (1) the Athenian orator, (2) his pupil, Isocrates, born at Apollonia in Pontus (Ἀπολλωνιάτης), and (3) a friend and contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He then quotes a number of words and phrases, which, he asserts, could not have proceeded from Isocrates the Athenian²; disposes of a passage in the Greek lexicographer Harpocration, which appears to be in favour of the claims of the second Isocrates³, and concludes that the third Isocrates was the real author.

The greatest of all the objections to this view is the high probability that the third Isocrates never existed: his existence depends entirely on a misunderstanding of the following passage of Dionysius⁴:

Ἰσοκράτης μὲν ὁ σὸς ἐταῖρος καὶ ἐμὸς, ὃ Ἐχέκρατες, εἶπερ ἄλλο τι, φησὶ χρῆναι προσεῖναι τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀνθρώποις (ἐν τῇ παρανέσει τῇ πρὸς Ἰππονίκου) καὶ τὴν φιλοπροσηγορίαν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ προσφωνεῖν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ὡς αὐτός φησι (v. § 20). If there is sufficient reason to believe that by the words 'your companion and mine' any other than a contemporary of Dionysius is

¹ In Isocr. *diatribae*. 1593.

² Some of these have been removed with the help of better MSS than those which were known in Stephens' time: e.g. ἀκμήν (in § 3): the others (so far as they are worth mentioning) will be discussed under the head of Benseler's objections.

³ See p. 20 n.

⁴ *Ars Rhet.* v. 1.

meant, the conclusion drawn by Stephens is invalid; and such a reason is found in the fact that Dionysius was an admirer of the Athenian Isocrates, the 'Attic orator,' whom he frequently mentions, and on whose style he wrote an appreciative treatise still extant. It would be perfectly natural for him, in writing to Echecrates, to speak of that Isocrates as their common friend in exactly the same way as Cicero, in writing to Atticus, speaks of Theophrastus, the pupil and successor of Aristotle as '*Amicus meus*'¹.

2. Coray's main objections are two. The first is that some of the maxims appear more suited to a writer living under a monarchical government than to an Athenian. This point is answered elsewhere (§ 36, n. on Lange). The second relates to the antithetical form of the treatise. 'If,' says Coray, 'you except the favorite *ἀντίθετα* of Isocrates, it contains nothing characteristic of him. And even of these *ἀντίθετα*, the writer makes an excessive use.' Coray therefore admits that it contains one strongly marked characteristic of Isocrates. We shall enquire presently whether it does not contain more than one.

3. Benseler's attack is supported by stronger arguments than those above quoted. His reasons (so far as they are deduced from internal evidence) are shortly summed up on p. iv. of his preface to the Teubner edition. These will now be taken seriatim, and an attempt will be made to answer each.

(a) 'It contains expressions which are either rare or foreign to the usage of Isocrates.'

§ 20, *φιλοπροσήγορος*. This is undoubtedly a rare word, but it occurs in exactly the context where we should expect it. The writer wishes for a more general word than *ἐμπροσθήγορος*, and therefore uses *φιλοπροσθήγορος*, and proceeds to point out the distinction between *ἐμπροσθηγορία* and *φιλοπροσθηγορία*. The mere rarity of the word cannot go for much when the undisputed writings contain such words as *τερθρεία* (*Hel.* § 4); *φθόγη* (*Aegin.* § 11); *τύρβη* (*de Perm.* § 30); *ἐπικήρως*

¹ *Epp. ad Att.* II. 16.

(*Busir.* § 49); ἐνδελεχέστατος (*de Perm.* § 84); κατασκελετευθεῖσαν (*ib.* § 268); and διασκαριφᾶσθαι (*Areop.* § 12).

§ 4, τὰ τῶν τρόπων ἥθη. Benseler finds fault with the pleonasm. But similar pleonasms are found in the acknowledged writings of Isocrates, and this fulness of expression enables the writer to keep up a more perfect parallelism with the words of the corresponding clause, τὴν δεινότητα τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.

§ 49, ἐλαττουμένους. See note, p. 39.

§ 15, κόσμος pro εὐκοσμία. Isocrates uses κόσμος in the sense 'ornament' and also in the sense 'heavens'. There is surely no great objection to his using κόσμος in the sense 'propriety'; but as a matter of fact the translation 'ornament' will suit the passage sufficiently well (see n.), although μέγιστον σεαυτῷ πρέπειν κόσμον would, it is admitted, be a more obvious form of expression.

ib. κρατεῖσθαι pro κατέχεσθαι. This meaning of κρατεῖσθαι ('to be held fast, kept in check') probably does not occur in Isocrates, but I am unable to see any conclusive reason against the possibility of his using the word in this sense.

§ 4, συγγράφειν. The force of Benseler's objection to this word is not easily seen. In another passage (*Paneg.* § 177) συγγράφεσθαι is used, but in a different sense.

§ 16, σύν. This preposition is never used by Isocrates¹. The fact is curious; but his frequent use of it in compounds may help to deprive the objection of part of its force. Besides, it is not impossible that the sentence τέρψις γὰρ—κάκιστον is really a quotation.

(β) 'Difference of dialect,' § 7. θαρσαλέως. (See note.) This is the Ionic and *early* Attic form, and is the MS reading. We cannot fairly alter the reading, but it is worth while to notice that in *de Perm.* § 121, two good MSS (*Urb.* and *Vat.*) read θαρσήσουσι (which Bekker adopts).

§ 24, θέλε (see note). §§ 16, 44, συνειδήσεις, εἰδήσεις. These

¹ 'Obiter moneo, quod satis mirum est, Isocratem ipsa prepositione σύν prorsus abstinuisse, praeter unum locum *ad Dem.* § 16.' Baiter praef. ad *Paneg.* p. xvi.

are more Ionic than Attic (see p. 16 n.). We shall return to some of these details presently.

(γ) 'Union of positive and comparative' (v. p. 37 n.).

(δ) 'Bad arrangement of precepts' (v. p. 13 n.).

We have still to consider a point which Benseler considers of the highest importance. The *Ep. ad Dem.* contains a number of instances of hiatus. These are, § 20, λόγῳ εὐπροσήγορος, 38, δύνασθαι, ἀνέχου...τὸ ἴσον...ὠφέλει, ἦ. 49, παντὶ ἐλαττούμενος. 40, σώματι εἶναι, and 14 others. e.g. § 7, δὲ εὐγενείους, § 24, μήτε ἄπειρος, § 11, σὲ ὥσπερ. Some of these can be readily defended by the pause between one word and the next (cf. *Paneg.* 74, παραλελειφθαι. ὁμῶς) many of them can be removed by elision. Now in other parts of Isocrates, when similar instances of *hiatus* occur, Benseler either (very properly) places a mark of elision, or promptly inverts the order of a word or two, and does away with the obnoxious collocation. The *Ep. ad Dem.* he leaves helpless, and then points to the so-called flaws as a proof of its spuriousness. If a general avoidance of *hiatus* is, as must be admitted, a characteristic of the Athenian Isocrates, it is easy to quote passages in the *Ep. ad Dem.* in which the writer appears to prefer the rarer of two equally possible expressions when it enables him to avoid *hiatus*: e.g. § 3, ἔργον ἐπιχειρεῖν instead of ἔργῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν, and § 4, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον... ὅσον οἱ instead of τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον... ὅσῳ οἱ.

It is perhaps worth while to dwell for a moment on the three selected authorities on which Benseler relies for the support of his first canon (on the *hiatus*¹).

The first passage comes from Dionysius and may be found quoted on p. 128 of this edition. In a note on that page, it is suggested that the words of Dionysius in themselves are not conclusive; and it may here be added that in another passage of the same author we have a glimpse of the method by which he arrived at his statement². He quotes a few sections from the *Areopagiticus*, and states that there is not a single *hiatus* in the passage; and that he does not *think* there is one in the

¹ v. *supra*, p. xxii.

² *de comp. verborum* c. 23.

whole of the speech. The statement of Dionysius appears to be founded on a loose examination of passages like that which he quotes and at the very best is inconclusive. Besides, it is this very critic that cites the *Ep. ad Dem.* without expressing the slightest doubt as to its authorship.

The second passage comes from Hermogenes (2nd cent. A.D.) who says of the style of Isocrates, οὐ μόνον τὰ κῶλα συνέχεται τοῖς συμφώνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς ὁ λόγος· τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τῆς εὐφωνίας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους μεμέληκε¹. This is more definite; but the weight of the opinion of Hermogenes is for Benseler's purposes seriously impaired by the fact that the same Rhetorician elsewhere quotes the *Ep. ad Demonicum* as the genuine production of Isocrates the Athenian.

The statement of this rhetorician of the second century was in all probability derived ultimately from the lost treatise either written by Isocrates himself, or (more probably) drawn up by one of his pupils as a summary of his rules of Rhetoric. A quotation from this forms the third of Benseler's select authorities on the hiatus: the words are

δεῖ τῇ μὲν λέξει τὰ φωνήεντα μὴ συνεπιπίπτειν.

If we could be certain in the first place that this rule was intended to apply to *all* kinds of composition, and, in the second, that Isocrates could never break through his own rule, this passage would be conclusive. To suppose that he intended the rule to be universal—to apply to an ordinary letter of advice as much as to highly elaborated orations, is, I cannot but think, unreasonable. Again, in the same set of rules gathered from the τέχνη we have a rule that prose is to be rhythmical, but never metrical. This rule is certainly violated in a passage which has not (as far as I can tell) been noticed by the continental editors (v. p. 149). If he could break his rule about metre, he could also break his rule about *hiatus*.

If we now pass to the internal evidence in favour of the genuineness, we find the same discrimination in the choice of words, and the same love of parallelisms in structure,

¹ περὶ ἰδεῶν. σ'. c. 12 (*Rhetores Graeci* II. 338. Ed. Spengel).

sound and sense, that mark his undisputed writings in general. But of all those writings, the one that deserves particularly to be compared with it is the hortatory discourse addressed to Nicocles on the duties of kings. The natural coincidences in thought and expression are sufficiently numerous to indicate identity of authorship, without being of such an artificial nature as to betray the hand of a mere imitator of the style of the treatise *ad Nicoclem*. Fortunately for the last treatise, and that on the duties of subjects (the *Nicocles*), almost half of the former and a long passage of the latter are quoted by Isocrates himself in the speech *de Permutatione* (§§ 73, 253); otherwise their genuineness would doubtless have been denied by the critics; the *ad Nicoclem* was actually attacked by Stephens, before the lost portion of the *de Perm.*, which contained the quotation, was discovered by Mustoxydes. The subject-matter is often distinctly characteristic of Isocrates; the precept *μάλιστα μὲν πειρῶ ζῆν κατ' ἀσφάλειαν* (§ 43) is exactly what might be expected from one who never fought a single battle, and whose whole life was based on the principle *ἐκτὸς κινδύνων καὶ ἀγώνων καρποῦσθαι τὴν σοφίαν*¹. The precept on 'wine-parties,' (§ 32 n.), and the frequent reminiscences of Theognis (v. § 7 n.), not to mention other details, point in the same direction.

Thus far for the internal evidence on the two sides of the question: we now proceed to a summary statement of the external evidence, and in so doing we may fairly premise that wherever the name of Isocrates stands by itself, the Athenian and not his pupil of Apollonia is to be understood.

The external evidence against the genuineness consists of a passage in the Lexicon of Harpocration. He quotes and explains the words *ἐπακτὸς ὄρκος*, and gives as one of his authorities, 'Isocrates of Apollonia, in the exhortations addressed to Demonicus.'

In favour of the genuineness we have another passage in the same lexicon, where the words *διόπερ ἡμεῖς—παραίνεσιν χάριτες* are quoted, followed by the words *Ἰσοκράτης παραίνεσιν*.

¹ Plato, *Euthyd.* 305 E.

Secondly, Dionysius Halic., in a passage already quoted, speaks of his friend Isocrates as inculcating the duty of 'affability,' ἐν τῇ παραινέσει τῇ πρὸς Ἰππονίκου (v. § 20).

Thirdly, Hermogenes (περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος 25 = *Rhetores Graeci*, II. 477, ed. Spengel), in speaking of various methods of inoffensive self-laudation, quotes instances from Demosthenes and Isocrates. The instance from the latter is thus introduced, ὁ Ἰσοκράτης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τῶν παραινέσεων τὸ πρῶτον προοίμιον ἑαυτοῦ ἔπαινον κατεσκεύασε, and then follows a short exposition of the first two sections. He also quotes ἐὰν ᾗς φιλομαθής, ἔση (*sic*) πολυμαθής (*ad Dem.* § 18) as occurring παρὰ Ἰσοκράτου (Herm. *l.c.* 16 = *Rhet. Gr.* II. 440).

Fourthly, it is contained in all the best MSS.

It would be easy to prolong this introduction by an examination into the credibility of each of the above points of external evidence; but it will be sufficient to state in brief that the self-contradicted evidence of Harpocration cannot be held sufficient in itself to counteract the strong external and internal evidence in favour of the genuineness. In the absence of undisputed remains of Isocr. the younger, we are unable to form any definite opinion on his style. In the case of other pupils of Isocrates, *e.g.* Theopompus, Ephorus, Isaeus, Lycurgus and Hyperides, we have more than enough remaining, to prove the distinct individuality of their manner of writing and to shew their general independence of their former master. Is it probable, we may ask, that Isocrates the younger wrote in a style, that has little, if any thing, to distinguish it from that of his master's treatise *ad Nicodem*?

Those who believe in the genuineness of the *ad Dem.* are bound to give a satisfactory or at least a plausible account of the circumstances under which it may have been written. In accordance with this bounden duty, we would venture to assign it to the period of his life which he spent in the Island of Chios. His departure for that island is generally assigned to the year 404 B.C., or according to a more probable calculation (into the details of which it is unnecessary to

enter), to the year 393 B.C.¹ Chios was an Ionian island and the Chians spoke one of the four forms of the Ionic dialect². To this local influence, in some shape or other, we may possibly assign his use of the Ionic forms *θαρσαλέως* and *εἰδήσεις*³.—Isocrates had lost his patrimony in the Peloponnesian war: in § 19 he tells us that ‘wealth passeth away but wisdom alone is immortal.’—To repair his losses, he opened a school in Chios; hence the schoolmaster’s tone that is apparent in such precepts as those of § 18, *ἐὰν ᾗς φιλομαθῆς ἔσει πολυμαθῆς κ.τ.λ.* and of § 40; he had only nine pupils, hence the words *αἰσχρὸν τοὺς νεωτέρους μηδὲ τὰς κατὰ γῆν πορείας ὑπομένειν ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίῳ καταστήσαι τὴν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν* (§ 19). The monarchical state where Demonicus was living may probably have been Cyprus, and the *Ep. ad Dem.* would in that case be the precursor of the three Cyprian treatises of Isocrates, the *ad Nicoclem*, the *Nicocles* and the *Evagoras*.

We know nothing of the nature of Isocrates’ original acquaintance with Demonicus or his father Hipponicus. That the name of Hipponicus occurs in the family of Isocrates is only the erroneous assertion of one of the writers in Smith’s *Biographical Dictionary* (art. Callias and Hipponicus), who after telling us that Hipparete (daughter of the Hipponicus who fell at Delium) was the wife of Alcibiades, which is true, proceeds to state that ‘another daughter of Hipponicus was married to Theodorus and became the mother of Isocrates the orator,’ which is false. The error arose from a misunderstanding of Isocr. *de Bigis* § 31, where Alcibiades the younger, *not* Isocrates, is the speaker.

But apart from all debated questions of the personality of the sender and the receiver of this letter, we may find a point of some slight interest in its subject-matter. We have numberless instances of similar practical precepts in ancient and modern literature. The *de Officiis* of Cicero (in the first cent. B.C.), the distichs of various dates that bear the name of

¹ Rauchenstein ed. *Paneg.* p. 8.

² Hdt. I. 142.

³ Hdt. VII. 234, Hippocrates VII. 476, VIII. 430 (ap. Veitch. *Gk. Vbs.*).

Dionysius Cato; the writings of the three great Stoics of the first two centuries A.D., Seneca the courtier, Epictetus the slave, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the emperor; the admonitions of the Emperor Basil (the Macedonian) to his son Leon (in the ninth century¹); and in more recent times, the 'wise saws' of Shakespeare's Polonius, the Church-Porch of George Herbert, and the 'Christian morals' of Sir Thomas Browne, are among the many examples that might be quoted; but the treatise now under consideration has a value that is independent of all these, inasmuch as it embodies the current maxims of the popular morality of Greece;—maxims originally enshrined in the verses of the 'Gnomic poets²' and in the proverbial philosophy of the 'seven sages' of the sixth century. The precepts here recorded are sometimes dashed with a gloom that reminds us of the elegies of Theognis, the exiled aristocrat of Megara; they are founded in many cases on a shrewd and cautious observation of the ways of the world and therefore appeal too frequently to a cold and calculating self-interest, and to a regard for outward appearances. On the whole, however they form a moderately brilliant and far from inattractive specimen of the ordinary principles of Grecian Ethics.

¹ In *Exhort.* 66 the Emperor recommends his son to read the writings of Solomon and of Isocrates, and also the book of Ecclesiasticus.

² *ad Nicocl.* §§ 3, 43; Aeschin. III. § 135; Plato, *Protag.* 326.—On the *ἐπιδείξεις* of Hippias, v. *ib.* *Hip. maj.* 286.

PANEGYRICUS.

THE *Panegyricus* is perhaps the most celebrated of all the writings of Isocrates. Dionysius applies to it the epithet περιβόητος¹, and Philostratus calls it κάλλιστος λόγων (*viz.* *Soph.* i. 17). It consists of an appeal to the Greeks in general, to join in an expedition against Persia, under the united command of Athens and Sparta; but at the time when the speech was written, Athens had lost her supremacy and Sparta was the leading power in Greece: the orator is therefore compelled to enter upon an elaborate proof that the supremacy belongs by right to Athens: he accordingly dwells with patriotic zeal on the legendary and historic fame and the great public services of his country; he speaks of her as the avenger of the oppressed, as the champion of Greece against the Barbarians in general, as the victor in the battles of Marathon, Artemisium and Salamis. He closes the first great division of his speech by contrasting the beneficent and disinterested rule of Athens with the cruel and selfish dominion of Sparta, and thence deduces the propriety of restoring the supremacy to the state which claimed it as a hereditary right, and had ratified the claim by the high purposes to which in former days she had dedicated her authority. In the second part of the speech, he points out the critical necessity of undertaking the expedition, and after dwelling on the ignominious peace of Antalcidas, on the inherent weakness of Persia, the immemorial enmity between the Greeks and the Barbarians, he insists, in conclusion, that every motive whether of gain or glory, of justice or revenge, declares that the time for decisive action has arrived.

The name of *Panegyricus* is given to the speech by

¹ *De Isocr. jud.* 14.

Isocrates himself¹, and implies that it was written for recitation at one of the great festal assemblies or *πανηγύρεις*, such as the Panathenaic festival at Athens or the Panhellenic festival at Olympia. That it was ever publicly recited by the author at the latter festival, as Philostratus² tells us, is extremely improbable. The strong language, in which he speaks of the Lacedaemonians, would in itself have been fatal to his chances of obtaining a hearing, to say nothing of the fact that his well-known timidity and his weakness of voice must have prevented him from making the attempt. At the very most, it is possible that it was recited for him by another; but the principal way, in which it became known to the Grecian world, was doubtless the multiplication of copies of the original speech which were either circulated at the *πανήγυρις* or sent to the leading men in the various Grecian states³. In after years it was frequently quoted by Aristotle and imitated by the pupils of the 'orator,' some of whom must have heard a great part of the speech in the ordinary course of his instructions in rhetoric, and, if the analogy of subsequent writings⁴ is worth anything, may have even ventured to criticise it and to propose alterations, during the great length of time which the writer devoted to its elaborate preparation. The actual number of years spent upon it is variously stated. Quintilian⁵ mentions ten years as the lowest number recorded by his predecessors, Plutarch⁶ makes it 'almost 3 Olympiads,' and the writer of the treatise *on the Sublime*, sometimes ascribed to Longinus (*cap.* 4), in the course of a criti-

¹ *Phil.* § 9, 84, *Epp.* III. 6, *de Perm.* § 172.

² ὁ πανηγυρικὸς...λόγος, ὃν διήλθεν Ὁλυμπίασι.

³ *Phil.* § 11, (ὁ λόγος) ὁ πρότερον ἐκδοθεὶς.

⁴ *Phil.* §§ 17—23, and *Panath.* § 200, 'Ἐπινώρθουν τὸν λόγον...μετὰ μαιρακίων τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων τῶν εἰθισμένων μοι συνδιατρίβειν' ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεξιούσιν ἡμῶν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ προσδεῖσθαι τελευτῆς μόνον, ἔδοξέ μοι μεταπέμψασθαι τινα τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπλησιακότων,...'ν' εἴ τι παρελαθεν ἡμᾶς ψεύδους εἰρημένον, ἐκείνος κατιδὼν δηλώσειεν ἡμῶν.

⁵ X. 4. 4 (probably quoted from Dionys. Halic. *de comp. verb.* c. 25 τὸν πανηγυρικὸν λόγον, ὡς οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον γράφοντες ἀποφαίνουσιν, ἐν ἑτεσι δέκα συνετάξατο).

⁶ *Mor.* 350 E.

cism on Timaeus, the celebrated Sicilian historian (the pupil of one of the disciples of Isocrates), records a frigid comparison instituted by the historian between Isocrates and Alexander, praising the latter for 'conquering the whole of Asia in a shorter time than Isocrates took in writing the *Panegyricus* and advocating an expedition against Persia.' 'On this principle,' says the critic, 'the Lacedaemonians were evidently far inferior in spirit to Isocrates. The former spent thirty years over the conquest of Messene, the latter only ten over the composition of the *Panegyricus*.' The criticism is itself open to criticism; it is only quoted here to shew that the period of ten years is recognised by more than one ancient authority.

The internal evidence of the speech is in favour of this statement; the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.) is never alluded to in the first part of the oration. This appears to have been written independently of that event; in the second part however we have numerous allusions to it, expressed in indignant terms which imply that it had only recently been negotiated. The exact date of the publication is determined by the historical allusions in § 126. From that section, it appears that the publication took place during the siege of Phlius and Olynthus, but before the capture of these places. The siege of Olynthus began in 382 B.C., that of Phlius in the early part of 380; hence we conclude that the speech was not published before 380 B.C. Again the siege of Phlius after a duration of 20 months, terminated in the latter part of 379 B.C. almost coincidently with the capture of Olynthus. Hence the speech could not have been published after 379; and if we take into consideration the great probability that it was published during an Olympic *παράγυρις*, we obtain the latter part of the summer of 380 as a sufficiently accurate approximation to the date of the first appearance of the speech¹.

It is hardly necessary to add that the *Panegyricus* failed in bringing about a practical result. It brought the author rhe-

¹ The attempts to reconcile this date with the confused chronology of § 141, have not hitherto been successful.

xliv INTRODUCTION. PANEGYRICUS.

torical fame and was destined to be the subject of quotation, imitation and plagiarism¹; but it is only an idle rumour (recorded by Aelian² in the 3rd cent. A.D.) that ascribes to its influence the expedition against Persia projected by Philip and accomplished by Alexander. At its publication the former was only an infant, and about a quarter of a century elapsed before the birth of the latter; but Isocrates never entirely deserted his favorite project. The idea of a Persian war, originally taken up as a grand theme for rhetorical display, pursued him throughout the whole of his subsequent life; he recurs to it in a letter³ written to Archidamus, king of Sparta, and also in a pamphlet⁴ addressed to Philip of Macedon, which forms a signal instance of the blindness of its author to the real character of that monarch, and places him in sharp contrast to the vigorously patriotic policy of Demosthenes; and lastly, when the battle of Chaeroneia had virtually crushed the freedom and independence of Greece, the aged rhetorician, after a lapse of more than 40 years from the publication of the *Panegyricus*, writes a feeble letter to Philip, which closes with almost the last, if not the very last, words he ever wrote,—words of hope that the great project would still be accomplished: χάριν δ' ἔχω τῷ γήρᾳ ταύτην μόνην, ὅτι προήγαγεν εἰς τοῦτό μου τὸν βίον, ὥσθ' ἂ νέος ὦν διανοοῦμην, καὶ γράφειν ἐπεχείρουν ἔν τε τῷ πανηγυρικῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς σὲ πεμφθέντι, ταῦτα νῦν τὰ μὲν ἤδη γιγνόμενα διὰ τῶν σῶν ἐφορῶ πράξεων, τὰ δ' ἐλπίζω γενήσεσθαι.

¹ *Phil.* § 84, 94.

² *Var. Hist.* XIII. 11. Cf. *Isocr. Epp.* III. 3.

³ *Epp.* IX. 19.

⁴ The *Philippus*.

ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΝ

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ¹.

*Εγραψε πολλοὺς λόγους, ὧν εἰσὶν αἱ παραινήσεις, εἰ καὶ τινες ἠβουλήθησαν αὐτὰς εἰπεῖν μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς φράσεως, ἃς πρῶτον εἰκότως ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὐχ ὡς βελτίονας οὐσας τῶν ἄλλων λόγων· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ πανηγυρικὸς αὐτῶν προέχει καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί· ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ ἡθῶν διαλαμβάνουσιν². ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τὰ ἡθῆ περὶ τῶν λόγων κοσμήσαι, ὥσπερ ὁ γεωργὸς ὀφείλει, πρὸ τῶν σπερμάτων καὶ ἧς μέλλει καταβάλλειν φυτείας, ἐκκόπτειν ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων τὰ λυμαινόμενα τούτοις, οἷον ἄγρωσιν καὶ τὰ τούτοις παρὰ πλῆσια· δι' ὃ, ὡς καὶ πρὸς παῖδας ταῦτα γράφων, ἡναγκάσθη ταπεινότερα χρῆσασθαι τῇ φράσει· ὥστε αὐτοῦ ἂν εἴησαν καὶ αἱ παραινήσεις. ἄξιον δὲ ζητῆσαι, διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν οὕτως αὐτὰς ἀνα-

¹ 'ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.] This argument was written by an unknown grammarian, and was first published in 1817 by Andreas Mustoxydes (a learned Greek) from two MSS. in the Medicean Library at Florence. Its date is approximately determined by the fact that, in another argument, the same grammarian adds to a short notice of Nicocles, king of the Cyprian Salamis, the words *τῆς νῦν Κωνσταντίνου καλουμένης*. The name Constantia could not have been given to Salamis *before* 306 A.D. (the date of the accession of Constantine I.), and its earliest mention

occurs in connection with Epiphanius, who is called Bishop of Constantia in 367. Hence we conclude that this argument was not written before the fourth cent. A.D. It contains many departures from Classical usage, some of which will be stated in the following notes.

² διαλαμβάνουσιν] = '*disserunt*,' '*exponunt*;' a meaning peculiar to late Greek. Schaefer (on *Gregorius Corinthus de dial.* p. 7) illustrates this meaning by quotations from Maximus Planudes (14th cent. A.D.) and Eudocia (Empress, 1059—1071 A.D.).

γινώσκωμεν κατὰ τάξιν, πρῶτον τὴν πρὸς Δημόνικον, ἔπειτα τὴν πρὸς Νικοκλέα, καὶ μὴ ἀδιαφόρως, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ λόγοις. λέγομεν, ὅτι Ἰσοκράτης βουλόμενος κοινωφελὴς γενέσθαι, φορτικὸν δὲ ἡγούμενος τὸ πρὸς πάντας γράφειν τὰς συμβουλὰς, ἦλθεν ὡς τούτους γράφειν. τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς πᾶσι παραινεῖ διὰ τῶν τριῶν παραινέσεων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἡσίοδος³, ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν λέγων, ἐργάζεω νήπιε Πέρση, πᾶσι παραινεῖ. οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἰσοκράτης. τάττει οὖν πρῶτον τὸν πρὸς Δημόνικον, ὡς πρὸς ιδιώτας πρῶτον διαλεγόμενος, εἰτα βασιλεύειν διδάσκων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα· πρῶτον γάρ τις ιδιώτης γενόμενος ὕστερον ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. εἰτα λέγει ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα ἡ συμμαχικῶ, πῶς δεῖ καὶ τὸν ιδιώτην βασιλευέσθαι.—⁴ Ἀνάγονται δὲ αἱ παραινέσεις παρὰ τὸν συμβουλευτικὸν⁴ εἶδος, κέκληνται δὲ παραινέσεις παρὰ τὸν αἶνον, ὃ ἐστὶ τὴν συμβουλήν, ὡς καὶ Ἡσίοδος⁵. νῦν δὲ αἶνον βασιλεύει· στάσις⁶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιδέχονται· οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. καιρὸς μὲν ἤδη, ὡς εἴπομεν, ἐπ' αὐτὰς λοιπὸν χωρεῖν τῶν λόγων τὰς ἐξηγήσεις. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐξηγήσεων προηγεῖσθαι τὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ τοὺς σκοποὺς τῶν λόγων, δεικτέον πρῶτον τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Ἰππὸνικός τις, ὡς ἔχει ὁ πολὺς λόγος, Κύπριος μὲν ἦν τῷ γένει, Ἰσοκράτους δὲ φίλος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ· οὗτος τελευτήσας κατέλειψε⁷ παῖδα, ὀνόματι Δημόνικον. τοῦτον Ἰσοκράτης ὁρῶν παῖδα ὄντα καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας λόγων δεόμενον, γράφει αὐτῷ ὑποθήκας, ὅπως δεῖ ζῆν αὐτὸν διδάξαι βουλόμενος· ὥσπερ ἦν εἶχε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εὖνοιαν παραπέμψαι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παιδός, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου προοιμιάζεται. συμβουλευεῖ οὖν αὐτῷ, γράψας δι' ἐπιστολῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνατο καταλείψαι⁷ Ἀθήνας

³ Ἡσίοδος.] 'Works and Days,' 395.

⁴ συμβουλευτικόν.] Cf. Paneg. § 11, ἐπιδεκτικός. n.

⁵ Ἡσίοδος.] 'Works and Days,' 200.

⁶ στάσις.] Lit. 'they do not admit of an issue.' στάσις (= status, constitutio causae) is a technical term, used frequently by late writers on Rhetoric to indicate the 'issue joined by two contending parties.' The grammarians generally take great pains to define, in their introductions, the στάσις of each succes-

sive speech or treatise that comes under their notice. Our grammarian has just told us that the treatise addressed to Demonicus is one of those that falls under the 'deliberative class' of writings: he feels that the reader will expect to be told, as usual, the issue joined therein; and accordingly informs him, with some naïveté, that there is none, οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα.

⁷ κατέλειψε... καταλείψαι.] In Classical Gk. κατέλειπεν and καταλείπειν.

διὰ τοὺς μαθητάς. τινὲς δὲ ἐπιχειροῦσι λέγειν τὸν λόγον, ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Δημόνικον. καὶ ἡ μὲν φαινομένη ὑπόθεσις αὕτη. εἰρήκαμεν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω, ὡς ὅτι⁸ κοινωφελεῖς αὐτοῦ βούλεται ποιήσασθαι τὰς παραινέσεις καὶ συμβουλευσαι, πῶς δεῖ ζῆν τὸν ἰδιώτην. καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ διὰ τοῦ Δημονίκου, καὶ τὸ πῶς δεῖ βασιλεύειν προβαλλόμενος τὸν Νικοκλέα. φεύγων δὲ τὸ φορτικὸν οὐ φανερώς ἐπιφέρει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις τὸν ἴδιον σκοπόν. ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ θείων, εἴτα εἰς γονέας μεταβαίνει, εἴτα φίλους καὶ οἶκον καὶ πατρίδα, τὴν τε δίαίταν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν περὶ ψυχὴν. χωρητέον οὖν λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προοίμιον, παρὰ τὸν οἶμον, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁδόν. Ἡσίοδος⁹ μακρὸς τε καὶ ὀρθίος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν. ὁδὸς δὲ τοῦ λόγου οἱ ἀγῶνες καὶ αἱ πράξεις.

⁸ ὡς ὅτι] (=Eng. 'how that'). This pleonasm is used elsewhere by the writer of this argument, and is (like *ὡς-οἶον, οἶον-ὡς*) a character-

istic of late Greek.

⁹ Ἡσίοδος.] 'Works and Days,' 288.

(ἀ.) Ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν, ὃ Δημονικε, πολλὴ διεστῶσας εὐ-
ρήσομεν τὰς τε τῶν σπουδαίων γνώμας καὶ τὰς τῶν φαύλων
διανοίας, πολλὴ δὲ μεγίστην διαφορὰν εἰλήφασιν ἐν ταῖς
πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνηθείαις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους παρόντας
μόνον τιμῶσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μακρὰν ἀπόντας ἀγαπῶσι, καὶ τὰς
μὲν τῶν φαύλων συνηθείας ὀλίγος χρόνος διέλυσε, τὰς δὲ b

§§ 1—12. *A general introduction, stating the object of the letter.*

1, 2. *Time and space cannot sever the friendships of good men: I therefore send you this letter as a sure proof of my goodwill towards you and yours, and as a token of my intimacy with your late father, Hipponicus.* 3. *Every thing, on your side and mine, favours my project.* 4. *I propose therefore to exhort you, not to mere intellectual excellence, but to moral excellence, 5—7 a possession which is more grand and enduring than beauty, wealth, strength, and noble birth.* 9—12. *You have a pattern of moral excellence in your departed father, on whose character I hope to dwell at length on a future occasion. To aid you in copying that pattern, I now send you a few brief and suggestive maxims.*

1. τῶν σπουδαίων (τῶν φαύλων.)
The 'good' and the 'bad,' those who live with an earnest object, a 'moral attention' (σπουδὴ), and those who do not. It is unnecessary to give these words a semi-political sense, as Schneider does, comparing the well-known usage of ἀγαθός, ἐσθλός, ἀριστος, καλοὶ καγαθοί, βέλτιστοι, δοῦν, ὀπτιμί, ὀπτιμάτες (the aristocracy), and κακοί, δειλοί, μάλι (the commons). Cf. § 48.

γνώμας...διανοίας.] 'judgments' ... 'thoughts.' The distinction is not imaginary; the former implies real knowledge (γνώσις), the latter mere opinion and nothing more. Cf. Isocr.

Nicocles, § 16, ῥᾶν ἔστιν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γνώμη προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ παντοδαπαῖς διανοαῖς ζητεῖν ἀρέσκειν. In § 45 a partial distinction is kept up between γνώμη and διάνοια, διάνοια almost = νοῦς in § 32, and is placed in simple contrast to σῶμα in Isocr. *Philippus*, § 63, ἀφορμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἔχων (Conon) πλὴν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἤλπισε Λακεδαιμονίους καταπολεμήσειν.—One of the clearest definitions of διάνοια, in contrast to δόξα and φαντασία, may be found in Plato, *Sophista*, p. 263 E, when the Eleatic Stranger says, οὐκ οὖν διάνοια μὲν καὶ λόγος ταῦτόν, πλὴν ὃ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν διάλογος ἀνευ φωνῆς γιγνόμενος τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἡμῖν ἐπωνομάσθη διάνοια ... τὸ δὲ γ' ἀπ' ἐκείνης βεβηκα διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἰὸν μετὰ φθόγγου ἐκέκληται λόγος, κ.τ.λ.

μεγίστην διαφορὰν εἰλήφασιν] = μέγιστον διαφέρουσιν. The article τὴν placed after μεγίστην would perhaps improve the sense, but MS. authority is against it. Schn. inserts it on the ground that the last syllable of μεγίστην led to its accidental omission.

συνηθείας...φιλίας.] 'Intimacies ... friendships.' The generic term συνήθεια includes the specific term φιλία, but, being the weaker word, is appropriately applied in this passage to the acquaintanceship of bad men, the nobler word φιλία being reserved for the good alone, on the principle laid down by Laelius in

τῶν σπουδαίων φιλίας οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἐξαλείψειεν.
 2 ἡγούμενος οὖν πρέπειν τοὺς δόξης ὀρεγομένους καὶ παιδείας
 ἀντιποιοιμένους τῶν σπουδαίων ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν φαύλων εἶναι
 μιμητὰς, ἀπέσταλκά σοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον δῶρον, τεκμήριον
 μὲν τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας, σημεῖον δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἰππόνικον
 συνηθείας· πρέπει γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας ὥσπερ τῆς οὐσίας οὕτω

Cicero, *De amicitia*, § 18, *Hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.*

διέλυσε.] 'Is wont to sever'—the aorist, not of instantaneous action, but of frequency, or, as it is sometimes called, the Gnostic aorist, expressing 'that which has often happened, and consequently (in cases singly occurring) is wont to happen.' Madvig, *Gk. Syntax*, § 111 a. Cf. § 6, *infra*, ἀνῆλυσεν, κ.τ.λ. n.

2 ἀλλὰ μὴ...] 'The good, and not the bad.' ἀλλὰ often introduces a negation in direct opposition to a previous affirmation, and in such cases 'and' is often a better translation than 'but.' Cf. § 21, δι' ὧν εὐδοκίμησεις ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' ὧν εὐπορήσεις.

τεκμήριον...σημεῖον.] 'An infallible proof...a token.' In Aristotle σημεῖον is the name given to 'proof' in the general, whether fallible or not: and the *genus* σημεῖον is subdivided into two *species*, τεκμήριον and σημεῖον. Arist. *Rhet.* I. 2, τῶν δὲ σημειῶν...τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τεκμήριον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνώνυμόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν διαφορὰν. ἀναγκαῖα μὲν οὖν λέγω ἐξ ὧν γίνεται συλλογισμός. Also II. 25, τὰ δὲ τεκμήρια καὶ τεκμηριώδη ἐνθυμήματα κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἀσυλλογιστον οὐκ ἔσται λῦσαι...λείπεται δ' ὅς οὐχ ὑπάρχει τὸ λεγόμενον δεικνύναι.

The double meaning of σημεῖον, as the name of a *species* as well as of a *genus*, is by no means unparalleled. The same phenomenon may be noticed in the two meanings of δῶρον [(1) a gift in general, (2) a bribe] (δωρεά = an honourable gift] and of σύλλογος [(1) an assembly in

general, (2) an assembly differing from the ἐκκλησία].

πρὸς ὑμᾶς.] 'To you and yours.' ὑμᾶς may possibly have been preferred to σέ, to avoid the *Hiatus* (see Introduction on the *Style* of Isocr.). It is not however equivalent in meaning to σέ, but has its plural sense. The two passages adduced (by Coray) to prove that the plural of 2nd person may be used for the singular will not bear examination: the first is Isocr. *Phil.* § 32, γνολῆς δ' ἂν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς σοι προσήκει τούτων ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἣν ἀνενέγκης αὐτῶν τὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἐκάστη πολλὴν φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας ὑπαρχούσας. Ἄργος μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ σοι πατρίς, ἥς δίκαιον τοσαύτην σε ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅσην περ τῶν γονέων τῶν σαντοῦ. Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν τιμῶσι. The pl. pron. in both cases evidently refers to Philip and the royal family. The same explanation will apply to the second passage (Isocr. *Eph. ad Phil.* III. 5, τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ὑπαρχούσης). A stronger passage might have been quoted from *Panath.* § 237, ἵνα τῷ τε πληθεὶ τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν χάριση καὶ παρὰ τοῖς εὐνοικῶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διακειμένοις εὐδοκίμησης, but even there it is easy to explain ὑμᾶς as = τοὺς πολίτας. In Latin the usage is quite as strict: and the passage in Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 9 (*Invenies illic et festa domestica vobis; Saepe tibi pater est saepe legendus avus*), is no exception to the rule. The use of ἡμεῖς for ἐγὼ is another matter. v. § 5, n.

Ἰππόνικον.] v. Introduction.

- 3 καὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς πατρικῆς κληρονομεῖν. (β'). 'Ὅρῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην ἡμῖν συλλαμβάνουσιν καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν συναγωνιζόμενον' σὺ μὲν γὰρ παιδείας ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ παιδεύειν ἄλλους ἐπιχειρῶ, καὶ σοὶ μὲν ἀκμὴ φιλοσοφεῖν, 4 ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φιλοσοφούντας ἐπανορθῶ. "Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φίλους τοὺς προτρεπτικούς λόγους συγγράφουσι, καλὸν μὲν ἔργον ἐπιχειροῦσιν, οὐ μὴν περὶ γε τὸ κρά-

τῆς φιλίας τῆς πατρικῆς.] πατρικός, πάτριος, and πατρός are often hard to distinguish from one another. Hermann's distinction, *πάτρια sunt, quae sunt patris*, *πατρώα quae veniunt a patre*, *πατρικά, quae sunt patris*, will not answer in every case. The use of *πατρικῆς* in the present passage may, however, be partially explained by referring to Bekker's *Anecdota*, I. p. 297: *πατρώα λέγουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες χρήματα καὶ κτήματα καὶ τόπους, πάτρια δὲ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ νόμια* (Cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* §§ 18, 25, 31, &c.) καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τὰς ἑορτάς, *πατρικὸν δὲ φίλον ἢ ἔχθρὸν* (Cf. *Paneg.* § 184, *Trapez.* § 43, *ξένος πατρικός, Aegin.* § 50, *φίλιαν...παλαίαν καὶ πατρικὴν*).

3. *καιρόν*.] *καιρός*, the opportunity, crisis, emergency; not derived from *κείρω*, to clip, to cut, but connected with the Sanskrit word *kāla* = the right time, from *kār* = to do. Hesychius (*Alexandrine Grammarian*, fl. 380 A.D.) states that *καρός* was another form of *καιρός*. *καιρός*, then, means the 'time for doing,' 'the fit time.'

συναγωνιζόμενον.] Cf. Isocr. *Evagoras*, § 59, *τὴν τύχην αὐτῷ συναγωνιζόμενον*.

ἐπανορθῶ.] This is the only compound of *ορθῶ* which doubles the augment. The augmented tenses always take the double augment; e.g. *ἐπηνώρθωσαντο*, *Paneg.* § 165, *ἐπηνώρθωσαν*, *Lysias, Orat. Funebris*, § 70, and *ἐπηνώρθουν*, Isocr. *Panath.* § 200. The other compounds, such as *διορθῶ*, *κατορθῶ*, *συγκατορθῶ* make *διώρθωσα*, *κατώρθωσα*, and (Isocr. *Phil.* § 151) *συγκα-*

ώρθωσα. (v. Veitch, *Greek Verbs*, sub voc.)

4. *τοὺς προτρεπτικούς λόγους*.] i.e. Discourses inviting the reader to intellectual pursuits, e.g. to the cultivation of oratorical power—*τὴν δεινότητα τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις inf.* The *λόγος προτρεπτικός* of Iamblichus (Neoplatonist, fl. 300 A.D.) are quoted as examples by Conrad Orelli.—The Letter to Demonius is not a *λόγος προτρεπτικός* but a *λόγος παρανετικός*. Cf. § 5, *παράκλησιν* (παραίνεσιν). The article *τοὺς* shews that the writer had in his mind certain well-known exhortations composed by contemporary Sophists.—Isocrates (of Apollonia), a pupil of Isocrates, wrote a *λόγος προτρεπτικός* which is mentioned by Suidas with the names of four other writings of his (1) *Ἀμφικτυονικός*, (2) *περὶ τοῦ τάφου μὴ ποιῆσαι Φιλίππῳ*, (3) *περὶ τοῦ μετοικισθῆναι*, (4) *περὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πολιτείας*. The present passage is enough to prove that, if Suidas is speaking accurately, the *λόγος προτρεπτικός* of Isocr. the younger is not identical with the *λόγος παρανετικός* πρὸς Δημόνικον.

ἔργον ἐπιχειροῦσιν.] The verb *ἐπιχειρεῖν* has three different constructions, 1. with the *infinitive*, e.g. § 3, *παιδεύειν ἄλλους ἐπιχειρῶ*. 2. with the *dative*. *Paneg.* § 132, *ἔργους ἐπιχειρεῖν*. 3. with the *accus.*, as here. Of these 1. and 2. are extremely common, 3. is somewhat rare. Other instances may be found

τιστον τῆς φιλοσοφίας διατρίβουσιν ὅσοι δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις δ εἰσηγούνται, μὴ δι' ὧν τὴν δεινότητα τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀσκήσουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ τῶν τρόπων ἦθη σπουδαῖοι πεφυ- 3 κέναι δόξουσιν, τοσοῦτ' ἄλλων ἐκείνων τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὠφελοῦσιν, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ λόγον μόνον παρακαλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ἐπανορθοῦσι.

5 Διόπερ ἡμεῖς οὐ παράκλησιν εὐρόντες ἀλλὰ παραίνεσιν γράψαντες μέλλομέν σοι συμβουλευέειν, ὧν χρὴ τοὺς νεωτέ-

in Plat. *Legg.* v. p. 739 E, ἦν (sc. πολίτειαν)...ἐπιχειρήκαμεν, and *Crito*, p. 45 C, οὐδὲ δικάων μοι δοκεῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν πᾶν γὰρ. In the passage before us ἔργῳ ἐπιχ. is avoided because it would involve a *Hiatus*, v. § 2, πρὸς ὑμᾶς. n.

τῆς φιλοσοφίας.] On the meaning of φιλοσοφία, φιλόσοφος, φιλοσοφεῖν in Isocr. see *Paneg.* § 6. n.

ὅσοι.....μή.] Madv. *Syntax*, § 203 (δ).

τὰ τῶν τρόπων ἦθη.] The morals of their characters—a somewhat pleonastic expression, found however in Plat. *Legg.* vi. p. 773 B, χρήμασί τε καὶ τρόπων ἦθεσι. *ib.* xi. p. 930 A, τρόπων ἦθη, and elsewhere. The fact that Isocrates does not use the expr. was alleged as early as the time of Henr. Stephens as an argument against the genuineness of the *Ep. ad Dem.* Similar pleonasms may however be found in his universally acknowledged writings, e.g. *Phil.* § 67, τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσεως (of the birth of Cyrus I.).—τὴν τῶν ἔργων πρᾶξιν (Plat. *Menex.* 237 B.) is not a pleonasm, as it must mean 'the manner in which the deeds were done.'

τοσοῦτ'...ὅσον.] τοσοῦτον...ὅσον and τοσοῦτ'...ὅσῳ are very common formulae. τοσοῦτ'...ὅσον is less usual, but is here and elsewhere (Isocr. *De Pace*, §§ 47, 143) preferred, because ὅσῳ οἱ μὲν would violate the rule of the *Hiatus*, v. § 2, πρὸς ὑμᾶς. n.

5. ἡμεῖς]=ἐγώ. Isocrates constantly uses the 1st pers. pl. instead

of sing. especially when a *Hiatus* is thereby avoided. Cf. *Phil.* § 105, ἡμῖν, εἰ...τολμήσῃ. *ib.* § 151, ἡμῖν ἀπενεμίαν...ἐμὸν. *Busiris*, § 32... τοσοῦτ' ἄλλων ἡμῶν ἀπέχεις τοῦ πιστὰ λέγειν, ὅσον (cf. last note) ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδένας αὐτὸν αἰτιῶμαι τῶν ἀδυνάτων κ.τ.λ. and at least 15 other passages. Sometimes the simple love of variety is enough to make him use the pl. e.g. *Paneg.* § 14, ἡμῖν διατριφθέντος...βεβιωκα, n. cf. *Paneg.* § 47. n. quot. The use of 'nos' for 'ego' is not uncommon in Latin (Cic. *Catil.* I. IX. 22) and sometimes leads to anomalous collocations. Cf. Terent. *Eunuchus*, IV. 3. 7 (=I. 649), *absente nobis*. Catull. 106, 5, *insperanti ipsa refert te nobis*. Ovid. *Heroid.* 5. 45, *nostros vidisti flentis ocellos*.

ὧν...τίνων...ποίοις...πῶς.] Lit. 'we are about to advise you on those objects, after which the young ought to strive, and what deeds they ought to avoid, &c.' ὧν, &c.=ταῦτα, ὧν. The change from ὧν to τίνων is to be noticed. On τίνων...ποίοις...πῶς for ὧν τίνων....ὅποιοις....ὅπως, see Madvig. *Synt.* § 198 b. A similar variation of structure may be noticed in Thuc. I. 137, Θεμιστοκλῆς φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ φεύγει (q. d. narrat quis sit et quam ob rem fugit). In Isocr. *ad Nicocl.* § 2, ὁρίσθαι, ποίῳ ἐπιτηδεύματων ὁρεγόμενος καὶ τίνων ἔργων ἀπεχόμενος ἀριστ' ἂν τὴν πόλιν διοικῶν, the sense is almost the same, but the structure more uniform.

ρους ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ τίνων ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ποίοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν καὶ πῶς τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον οἰκονομεῖν. ὅσοι γὰρ τοῦ βίου ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπορεύθησαν, οὗτοι μόνον **5** τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφικέσθαι γνησίως ἡδυνήθησαν, ἥς οὐδὲν κτῆμα σεμινότερον οὐδὲ βεβαιότερόν ἐστι. κάλλος μὲν γὰρ ἢ χρόνος ἀνῆλωσεν ἢ νόσος ἐμάρανε, πλοῦτος δὲ κακίας μάλλον ἢ καλοκαγαθίας ὑπέρτης ἐστίν, ἐξουσίαν μὲν τῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ παρασκευάζων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἡδονὰς τοὺς νέους παρακαλῶν· ῥώμη δὲ μετὰ μὲν φρονήσεως ὠφέλησεν, ἀνευ δὲ ταύτης πλείω τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα τῶν ἀσκούντων ἐκόσμησε, ταῖς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμελείαις ἐπε- **7** σκότησεν. ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς κτήσις οἷς ἂν ἀκιβδήλως ταῖς c

βίον οἰκονομεῖν.] οἰκονομεῖν (οἰκονόμος—οἶκος, νέμω) here and in § 46 merges the full meaning of *oikos* in the secondary and metaphorical sense given to the whole word. Cf. Arist. *Aves*, 1232, *μηλοσφαγεῖν τε βοϋθύτοις ἐπὶ ἐσχάrais*...Hom. *Il.* IV. 3, *νέκταρ ἐφωχόει*, Plato, *Protag.* 340A, *τὸν Σκάρμανδρον πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύου*. Cic. *Verr.* v. § 47, *navem aedificatam*, Virg. *Aen.* II. 16, *equum*...aedificant. *Exodus* xxxviii. 8, *looking-glasses of brass*, &c.

ὅσοι γὰρ...ἐστίν.] Trans. 'For as many as have traversed this path of life, these only are, in genuine wise, enabled to arrive at virtue—that grandest and most enduring of all possessions,' lit. 'than which no possession is, &c.'

ἡδυνήθησαν.] Cf. *Paneg.* § 102 n.

6. κάλλος...παρακαλῶν.] 'For, as for beauty, time may waste or disease may wither it; while wealth is the vassal (or 'minister') of vice rather than of true nobility, assuring licence to idleness and alluring young men to pleasure.'

ἀνῆλωσεν...ἐμάρανε...ἐστίν.... ὠφέλησεν...ἐλυμήνατο...ἐκόσμησε.] Gnostic aorists, here, as sometimes elsewhere, coupled with the present tense: see the instances given in *Madv. Synl.* § 111 a. cf. § 33, *πράτ-*

τουςιν...προσεξημίωσε, § 47, *ἐλυπήθησαν*...ἔχομεν, *Paneg.* § 46, *διελύθησαν*...ἐστίν and, as an instance of more complex interweaving of aorist and present, Eurip. *Fragm.* 833 (Dind.), *χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαλας | φύντ' εἰς γαῖαν, τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου | βλαστόντα γονῆς εἰς οὐρανόν | πόλον ἤλθε πάλιν*. *Θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν | τῶν γιγνομένων, διακρινόμενον δ' | ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλου | μορφήν ἰδίαν ἀπέδειξε*.

παρασκευάζων...παρακαλῶν.] *δομοκτάρκατα*, see *Introduct.* on *Style of Isocr.* Cf. § 42, *παραχρῆς...περίλυτος*. *Paneg.* § 14, *καταγελᾶν...καταφρονεῖν*.

ῥώμη...ἐπισκότησεν.] 'Strength, united with prudence, is helpful, but, without it, does more harm (than good) to its possessors, and, while it adorns the bodies of the athletes, it nevertheless casts a cloud over the culture of the soul.'

οἱ ἀσκούντες.] *i.e.* 'those who go into training,' *ἀσκέειν* lit. 'to practise,' gen. with acc. of the thing practised. Hippocrates (*The Father of Medicine*, 460—357 B.C.) uses the expression *οἱ ἀσκούντες* absolutely, of gymnasts. v. § 12, *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀσκέειν*.

7. ἀκιβδήλως.] 'Like true metal,' 'without alloy,' (*α-κίβδηλος*. *κίβδος* = alloy). The word is doubtless sug-

διανοαίς συναυξηθῇ, μόνη μὲν συγγηράσκει, πλούτου δὲ κρείττων, χρησιμωτέρα δ' εὐγενείας ἐστὶ, τὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀδύνατα δυνατὰ καθιστᾶσα, τὰ δὲ τῷ πλήθει φοβερά θαρσαλέως ὑπομένονσα, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄκνον ψόγον, τὸν δὲ πόνον 8 ἔπαινον ἡγοιμένην. ῥάδιον δὲ τοῦτο καταμαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τε τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἄθλων καὶ τῶν Θησέως ἔργων, οἷς ἢ τῶν δ τρόπων ἀρετὴ τηλικούτου εὐδοξίας χαρακτηῖρα τοῖς ἔργοις

gested by the immediate context : πλοῦτος...πλούτου. Cf. Dem. *adv. Lept. ad fin.* Θαναμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ τοῖς μὲν τὸ νόμισμα διαφθείρουσιν θάνατος παρ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἢ ζημία, τοῖς δ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κίβδηλον καὶ ἀπιστον ποιοῦσιν λόγον δάσσετε. The metaphor occurs often (v. § 25. n.) in the *parainēseis* of Theognis (the elegiac poet of Megara, c. 570—c. 490 B.C.) whose maxims of moral advice to his friend Cynus will often be quoted in the succeeding notes.

συγγηράσκει...πλούτου.] An allusion to § 6, κάλλος ἢ χρόνος ἀνῆλυσεν ἢ νόσος ἐμάρανε, πλούτου δὲ κ.τ.λ.

πλούτου κρείττων, χρησιμωτέρα εὐγενείας.] Of the four terms quoted the first corresponds to the fourth, and the second to the third. Two of them are as near as possible to each other, the other two as far as possible from each other. This figure of speech is usually called a *Chiasmus* (after the letter χλ. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2}$. 1 and 4 are connected by *one* branch of the letter, 2 and 3 by the other). Cf. § 38, δικαίαν περὶαν ἢ πλούτου ἀδικον. *Paneg.* § 95, καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς. *Nicochl.* § 7, περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἀδικῶν καὶ τῶν αἰσchrῶν καὶ τῶν καλῶν. *Plat. Sympos.* 196 B, ἔρως οὐτ' ἀδικεῖ οὐτ' ἀδικεῖται οὐθ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὐτε θεόν. *Theaet.* 173 D, νόμους δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα λεγόμενα ἢ γεγραμμένα οὐτε ὁρῶσιν οὐτε ἀκούουσι. *Cic. Phil.* II. § 95, *Vivus eripuit, reddit mortuus.* *Liv.* VIII. 6, fin. *Milites militibus, centurionibus centuriones, tribuni tribunis compha-*

res collegaeque. The usual English arrangement of such sentences is also frequently found in Gk. and Lat. (e.g. § 33, fin.) The pliancy of the latter languages often however allows *Chiasmus* to be used with telling effect.—Cf. *Paneg.* § 54. n.

ἀδύνατα)(δυνατὰ.....φοβερά)(θαρσαλέως.] Obs. the collocation.

θαρσαλέως.] *θαρσεῖν*, *θαρσαλέως* are used by the *earlier* writers, Thucydides, &c.; *θαρρεῖν*, *θαρραλέως* by Plato and the *later* Attic writers. The latter forms (according to Baiter and Sauppe on *Isocr. de Perm.* § 121) occur 16 times in *Isocr.*, the former never except in this passage: see *Introduct.* on the genuineness of the *Ep. ad Dem.*

8. ῥάδιον...πεπραγμένων.] 'Now it is easy to discern this from the labours of Hercules and the exploits of Theseus, *for whom* the excellence of their character imprinted so deep a stamp of glory on their exploits, that not even eternity itself can engender oblivion of the achievements of those heroes.' Cf. *Phil.* § 144, τὴν Ἡρακλέους υπερβολὴν καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀρετὴν. See also § 50. n. The exploits of Theseus are recounted at length by *Isocr. Helenae Encomium*, §§ 18—38 (περὶ τῆς Ἑλένης Ἰσοκράτης ἔγραψεν ὅτι σπουδαία εἴπερ Θησεὺς ἔκρινεν, *Arist. Rhet.* II. 23).—The legend of Theseus is well told by Prof. Kingsley in his *Greek Fairy Tales*, and more briefly by Mr Cox in his *Tales of Ancient Greece*, p. 159.

ἐπέβαλεν, ὥστε μὴδὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον δύνασθαι λήθην ἐμποιοῦναι τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων.

- 9 (γ'). Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς προαιρέσεις ἀναμνησθεὶς οἰκεῖον καὶ καλὸν ἔξει παραδείγμα τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σοι λεγομένων. οὐ γὰρ ὀλιγωρῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ῥαθυμῶν διετελέσσε τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἐγύμναζε, IO τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τοὺς κινδύνους ὑφίστατο. οὐδὲ τὸν πλοῦτον ε παρακαίρως ἡγάπα, ἀλλ' ἀπέλαυε μὲν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ὡς θνητὸς, ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἀθάνατος. οὐδὲ ταπεινῶς διώκει τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον, ἀλλὰ φιλόκαλος ἦν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις κοινός, καὶ μᾶλλον 4 ἐθαύμαζε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδάζοντας ἢ τοὺς γένει προσήκοντας· ἡγείτο γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς ἐταιρίαν πολλῷ κρείττω φύ- I I σιν νόμου καὶ τρόπον γένους καὶ προαίρεσιν ἀνάγκης. ἐπιλίποι δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος, εἰ πάσας τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις

9. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί.] sc. οὐ μὴν (ἐκ τῶν Ἡρ. ἀθλων καὶ τῶν Θησ. ἔργων τοῦτο σοι καταμαθεῖν ἐστίν) ἀλλὰ καί... 'not indeed..., but...' or 'not but that,' or 'nevertheless.' Trans. 'nevertheless, by remembering the principles of your father, you will have in your home a noble example (a fine home-example) of that which I am telling you.' Cf. *Phil.* § 113 (speaking of Hercules as a worthy pattern for his descendant Philip) μὴ δέιν ἀλλοτρίοις χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασιν ἀλλ' οἰκεῖον ὑπάρχειν.

ὑφίστατο.] The reading ὑφίστατο is adopted by Baier and Sauppe on the authority of the Codex Scaphusiensis and of the Codex Urbinas. The original reading however of Cod. Urb. was ὑπέμενεν, and this was subsequently altered into ὑφίστατο. Benseler accepts ὑπέμενεν. The difference in sense is perfectly immaterial.

ἀπέλαυε...ἀθάνατος.] Imitated(?) by Lucian, *ap. Antholog. Pal.* x. 26, ὡς τεθνηξέμενος τῶν σὺν ἀγαθῶν ἀπέλαυε, | ὡς δὲ βιωσόμενος φείδω σὺν κτεάνων. | ἔστι δ' ἀνὴρ σοφὸς οὗτος,

ὃς ἄμφω ταῦτα νοήσας | φειδοῖ καὶ δαπάνῃ μέτρον ἐφηρμόσατο. The first two lines are quoted in the margin of one of the MSS. collated by Auger.

10. μεγαλοπρεπῆς.] Cf. Arist. *Eth.* II. 7. 6, 'In respect of wealth...the mean state is called munificence (μεγαλοπρέπεια)...the excess is called want-of-taste (ἀπειροκαλία) or vulgar-profusion (βανανσία), the defect paltriness (μικροπρέπεια)'. v. also *Eth.* IV. (2) = 4.

τοὺς γένει προσήκοντας.] Bens. reads τῷ γένει. BS. γένει. The art. is exceptional and one good MS. (Cod. Scaph.) omits it. As instances of the usual form may be quoted, Eur. *Med.* 1304, οἱ προσήκοντες γένει. Lycurg. *Leocr.* § 138, τοῖς μὴτε γένει μῆτε φίλῳ μὴδὲν προσήκουσι. Isocr. *Aegin.* § 33, γένει μὲν φασὶ προσήκειν. ἡγείτο...ἀνάγκης.] 'For, in point of companionship, he deemed nature far more sovereign than convention, character than kindred, principle than compulsion.' On φύσις(ν)όμος, cf. *Paneg.* § 105, n.

11. ἐπιλίποι...] Cf. Lysias, *Or. Funebr.* § 1, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ πᾶς

καταριθμησαίμεθα. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν ἐν ἑτέροις καιροῖς δηλώσομεν, δεῦγμα δὲ τῆς Ἱππονίκου φύσεως νῦν ἐξηγηθήσομεν, πρὸς ὃν δεῖ ζῆν σ' ὥσπερ πρὸς παράδειγμα, ὅν μὲν τὸν ἐκείνου τρόπον ἡγησάμενον, μιμητὴν δὲ καὶ ζῆλωτὴν τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς γιγνόμενον· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν γραφεῖς ἀπεικάζειν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ζώων, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας

χρόνος οὐχ ἱκανὸς λόγον ἴσον παρασκευάσαι τοῖς τούτων ἔργοις. Isocr. *Archidamius*, § 81 and *De Pace*, § 56, ἐπιόλπει δ' ἂν με τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας εἰ... Cicero, *pro Caelio*, § 29, *dies me deficiat, si, quae dici possunt, coner exprimere.*

ἐν ἑτέροις καιροῖς δηλώσομεν.] The promise, as far as we are aware, remained unfulfilled. Had it been accomplished we should have had a laudatory biography of Hipponicus, rivaling that of Evagoras.

δεῖγμα...παράδειγμα.] The sound and the sense of these words may be represented by 'sample' and 'example'. A similar *usus verborum* may be found in Thuc. II. 62. 3, μὴ φρονήματι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι. Dem. *Fals. Leg.* § 122, p. 378, σύλλογοι καὶ λόγοι παντοδαποί, (ap. Spengel. *Rhetores Graeci*, III. 36). Instances of the collocation of ἐκφέρειν and δεῖγμα may be found in Plat. *Legg.* VII. 788 c. Isocr. *De perm.* § 54, ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν, ἐξεργεῖν ἐκάστον δεῖγμα πειράσσομαι. al.—The term δεῖγμα is frequently used of the 'samples' exhibited by the ἔμπορος or wholesale dealer. Cf. Aristobulus ap. Plutarch. *Dem.* 23, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἔμπορους ὁρῶμεν, ὅταν ἐν τρυβλίῳ δεῖγμα περιφέρωσι, δι' ὧν πᾶσι τοῖς πολλοῖς πιπράσκοντας..... Hierocles, *Ἀστεία* 9, σχολαστικὸς οἰκίαν πωλὼν λίθον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπ' δεῖγμα περιέφερε. Cf. Isocr. *Εἰρ.* 8. § 6, ἀπαντες γὰρ ὥσπερ δειγμάτων τοῖς τοιοῦτοις χρώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῦτοις νομίζουσιν. νόμον...ἡγησάμενον.] Cf. § 36, ἰσχυρότατον μὲν τὸν νόμον ἡγοῦ τὸν ἐκείνων τρόπον. n.

πατρῴας.] v. § 1, τῆς φίλας τῆς πατρικῆς. n.

αἰσχρὸν...γονέων.] Trans. 'For it is shameful, if, while painters portray those living beings that are beautiful, children nevertheless refuse to imitate those parents who are good.' The particles μὲν and δὲ make the two clauses of the sentence co-ordinate with one another, but the English idiom requires the first clause to be made subordinate to the second. See Madvig, *Synt.* § 189 a and cf. § 19, τοὺς μὲν ἔμπορους... and Isocr. *Archidam.* § 54, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τότε μὲν ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἱκανὸν εἶναι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις διαφυλάττειν, νυνὶ δὲ πάντας μῆτε δύνασθαι μῆτε πειράσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν διασώζειν. On τὰ καλὰ τῶν ζώων cf. § 50, n. This comparison between artists and children, like many other comparisons, will hardly bear examination: if the former were in the habit of painting only beautiful animals, the illustration would be more satisfactory.

γραφεῖς.] In Isocr. the acc. pl. of words ending in -εύς is generally -έας, e.g. γονέας, *Paneg.* § 111, ἱππέας, ib. § 148, συγγραφέας, Μαντιέας, Πλαταιέας, Φωκέας, βασιλέας. In 16 passages the above forms are supported by all the MSS. However *ad Nicol.* § 31 supplies an instance in which the contracted form -εῖς is recognised by the Urbino MS. and one of the Vatican MSS., and there is good authority for χαλκιδεῖς in *de Perm.* § 113. In the passage before us γραφεῖς is supported by the best MSS., and the same is the case with γονεῖς in §§ 14, 16 (v. Baister, *Exc.* II. a. ap. Bremi, *Isocr.* p.

12 μὴ μιμείσθαι τοὺς σπουδαίους τῶν γονέων. ἡγοῦ δὲ μηδεὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὕτω προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀσκεῖν, ὥς σοὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἐφάμιλλος γενήσῃ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν. οὕτω δὲ τὴν γνώμην οὐ δυνατόν διατεθῆναι τὸν μὴ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἀκουσμάτων πεπληρωμένον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα τοῖς συμμέτροις πόνοις, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τοῖς σπουδαίοις λόγοις αὖξασθαι πέφυκε. διόπερ ἐγὼ σοὶ πειράσομαι συντόμως ὑποθέσθαι, δι' ὧν ἂν μοι δοκεῖς ἐπιτηδευ-

200). On the whole, then, the form -έας seems to prevail in Isocr. On the other hand, definite traces of -εῖς are found in the acknowledged writings, and therefore the fact that the latter form occurs in the *Ep. ad Dem.* is in itself, perhaps, no proof of the spuriousness of that *Ep.* Lastly, it is perfectly possible that the original reading may have been altered from *γραφέας* and *γονέας* into the contracted form *now* presented by the MSS.—Speaking of Attic writers in general the following is a fair statement: ‘forma soluta etsi Atticis usitatissima est, tamen etiam contracta, si momentum huius rei codices fidei probatae faciant, apud scriptores optimos invenitur.’ Weber *Dem. in Aristocratem*, § 189.

12. οὕτω...πέφυκε.] Translate: ‘Now this disposition of mind is impossible in the case of one who is not fraught with many noble maxims, for, by the laws of nature, just as bodies grow by means of moderate exercise, even so the soul grows by means of sober precepts.’—ἀκουσμα, lit. a maxim uttered and heard; often, as here and in § 19, a maxim written and read. (The modern Eng. use of the word ‘lecture’ may be an exact contrast to this transition of meaning.) The general meaning ‘maxim,’ apart from all direct idea of oral precept, is to be found also in Plat. (?) *Ep.* 2, p. 314 A, εὐλαβοῦ μέντοι μὴ ποτε ἐκπέσῃ ταῦτα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀπαιδείτους· σχεδὸν γὰρ... οὐκ ἔστι τούτων πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς

καταγελαστότερα ἀκούσματα, κ.τ.λ. q. v.

τὰ μὲν...ἡ δὲ.] Lit. ‘the bodies on the one hand’... ‘the soul on the other,’ i. e. ‘As the bodies...so likewise the soul...’ This use of μὲν...δέ is very common in comparisons. Cf. § 25, τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον... The similitudes of Demophilus (a collection of Pythagorean precepts) are constantly expressed in this form: e.g. *sim.* 14, λιμὴν μὲν πλοῖω θρῆμος, βίῳ δὲ φίλα. Cf. also the saying attributed to Socrates (Orelli, *Orusc. Mor.* I. 30), κοσμητέον ἱερὸν μὲν ἀναθήμασι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μαθήμασιν.

αὖξασθαι.] Isocr. (like Plat. and Aristoph.) uses both of the forms αὖξανομαι (*Paneg.* § 104) and αὔξομαι (*Phil.* § 38). Eurip. uses the former once (*Med.* 918), the latter often.

αὖξασθαι πέφυκε.] i. e. ‘tis their nature to increase. *Philip.* 35, ἀπαντες πλεῖω πεφύκαμεν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἢ κατορθοῦν. Soph. *Phil.* 80, ἐξοῖδα καὶ φύσει σε μὴ πεφυκότα | τοιαῦτα φωνεῖν μηδὲ τεχνᾶσθαι κακὰ.

δι’ ὧν ἂν μοι δοκεῖς...ἐπιδοῦναι.] ἂν belongs to ἐπιδοῦναι, cf. *Ep.* 8. § 9, οὕτω δ’ ἂν μοι δοκεῖτε (MSS. δοκοῖτε) κάλλιστα βουλευσάσθαι. Madv. *Synt.* § 173, R. 1.—The MSS. have δοκοῖτε and this reading is adopted by Benseler. Cobet (*nov. lect.* p. 362) says:—‘optativus debetur correctori semidocto, qui Atticæ consuetudinis immemor aut ignarus, ἂν cum verbo finito conjungendum esse putavit, quum esset cum ἐπιδοῦναι ab Isocrate conjunctum, idque Bekkerus

μάτων πλείστον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπιδιδόναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίμησαι.

13 (δ.) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εὐσέβει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς μὴ δ

senserat, sed doctus ab illis servatum est, quibus codicis Urbinatis auctoritas potior est quam sana ratio et dicendi usus.

§§ 13—43. *The Prologue having ended, the following sections contain a series of miscellaneous moral maxims, distributed as follows:*

§ 13. *Duty towards Heaven.* 14. *Duty towards parents. Of Bodily exercise.* 15. *Of Laughter and Rashness of Speech. The virtues which grace a young man's character.* 16. *The force of conscience. Summary of duty towards Heaven, parents, friends, and laws.* 17. *Of pleasures.* 18, 19. *Of acquiring knowledge.* 20. *Of conversation.* 21. *Of self-training and self-control.* 22. *Of keeping secrets.* 23. *Of oaths.* 24—27. *On the choice of friends, on tests of friendship, on the treatment due to friends.* 27, 28. *On dress; on use of wealth.* 29. *Contentment and ambition. Consideration for the unfortunate. On doing good to good men.* 30. *On flatterers and false friends.* 31. *On sociability.* 32. *Of wine and of munificence.* 33. *Of knowledge, ignorance, friendship.* 34. *Of counsel and execution.* 35. *Of circumspection in choosing counsellors.* 36. *Of imitating and obeying kings.* 37. *Of public service and its responsibilities.* 38, 39. *Of justice and injustice.* 40. *Of the exercise of mind and body.* 41. *Of speech and silence.* 42. *Of moderation and reserve.* And lastly, 43. *Of security in life, and honour in death.*

13 sqq. The above summary will be sufficient to shew the extent to which a methodical arrangement is adopted by the writer: the thread that joins one maxim to another is often very slender, and the order in which they are set down is sometimes perfectly capricious. Benseler (*Præf.* p. iv.) appeals to the ‘*mala*

praeceptorum dispositio’ as an argument against the genuineness of the Ep. It is easy, however, to answer that (1) The other λόγοι παραινετικοί, which are now universally accepted, are almost as unmethodical in arrangement; and (2) Isocr. himself, when about to quote a long passage from one of them, draws, to the following effect, a special distinction between the style of the *Ep. ad Nicocl.* and that of his other works (*De Perm.* §§ 67, 68). ‘You have now heard part of two of my writings (i.e. extracts from *Paneg.* and *De Pace*); but I wish to go through some small portion of a third also, that you may see still more clearly that virtue and justice are the aim of all my writings. The writing, which is now to be brought before you, is addressed to Nicocles, of Cyprus, who was king at the time; and gives him advice on the right method of governing his subjects, but it is not in the same style as the writings which have just been read to you. In the former, that which I say is always in compact and close harmony with the previous context; in the latter, the reverse is the case; for it is by separating each sentence from that which has gone before, and by dividing the whole into “chapters,” that I there attempt briefly to state each point of my advice, &c.’

εὐσέβει.] In commands the *aor. imp.* is used when the action required is single and transient; the *present imp.* whenever the command is lasting in its obligation; many instances of the latter may be found in the subsequent §§. *Madv. Synt.* § 141.

εὐσέβει...ἐμμένων.] For the general sense of this and the following § we may compare the beginning of the *Aurei Versus* of Pseudo-Pythas-

μόνον θύων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένων· ἐκείνο μὲν γὰρ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίας σημείουν, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς τῶν τρόπων καλοκαγαθίας τεκμήριον. τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον αἰεὶ μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως· οὕτω γὰρ δόξεις ἅμα τε τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένειν.

- 14 Τοιοῦτος γίγνουν περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, οἷους ἂν εὐξαιο περὶ εσσαντὸν γενέσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας.

Ἄσκει τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίων μὴ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ῥώ-

goras: ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεούς, νόμῳ ὡς διὰκνείται, | τίμα καὶ σέβου ὅρκων... τοὺς τε γονεῖς τίμα, τοὺς τ' ἀγχιστ' ἐκγεγαῶτας. Cf. Theognis, 171.

σημεῖον(τεκμήριον.) § 2. n. τίμα...ἐμμένειν.] *i. e.* 'Do honour to Heaven on *all* occasions, but especially in the rites of public worship; for thus men will see that you are not only sacrificing to the gods, but are also likely to be true to your oaths.' Benseler (*Praef.* xliii.) explains as follows: *Qui deos publice colit, pium et religiosum se ostendit et talem qui etiam iniurandum sit conservaturus*; and this explanation is less forced than that given by Schneider, who supposes that the words τοὺς ὅρκους ἐμμένειν refer to some oath like that taken by *Athenian* citizens, τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατέρα τιμήσω.

Isocr. appears to inculcate, besides a general worship of Heaven, an especial attention to *public* worship and the religion of the state, on the low ground that a reputation for honesty is thus acquired.—Plato, in a curious passage at the end of *Legg.* ix. p. 909 D, suggests the abolition of purely private acts of worship, ἔστω γὰρ νόμος ὅδε τοῖς ἑξυμπασι κείμενος ἀπλῶς· Ἱερὰ μὴδὲ εἰς ἐν ἰδίᾳ οἰκίᾳ ἐκτίσθω· θύειν δ' ὅταν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦ τινί, πρὸς τὰ δημόσια ἔτω θύσαν.

14. γονεῖς.] Cf. γραφεῖς, § 11 n. The father of Dem. was dead: the word γονεῖς must therefore be taken in a general sense. Cf. Isaeus, *de*

Cironis heredit. § 32, 'The law enjoins men to support their parents (γονεάς); by parents are meant the mother, the father, the grandfather, the grandmother, and their mother and father, if they be still alive.'

ἑαυτοῦ.] The reflexive pron. of the 3rd pers. is here used instead of that of the 2nd pers. ἑαυτοῦ for σσαντοῦ (which is the reading of some MSS.). Cf. § 21, ἑαυτὸν and αὐτὸν=σαντόν. For instances of αὐτοῦ=ἐμαντοῦ cf. Isocr. *Aegin.* § 23, ἐπειρώμεν...στέρεσθαι...τῶν ἐμαντοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι δρών τὴν μητέρα τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπεπωκυίας. *Phil.* § 129, πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὐτοῦ (=ἐμαντοῦ), *ib.* § 149, πρὸς αὐτὸν=πρὸς σαντόν.—Pors. ad Eur. *Or.* 626, says 'hoc pronomen omnium personarum commune est.' For examples of this usage in Aesch. and Soph. see Mr Jebb's note on Soph. *Elect.* 285. A similar usage may be noticed in σφεῖς and the *reflex. poss. pron.* ὅς, σφέτερος (v. Lidd. and Scott).

ἄσκει...δυνάμενος.] 'Of bodily exercises, practise *not* those that conduce to strength, but rather those that conduce to health: and this point you may gain, if you cease from your exertions, while still able to continue them' (*i. e.* if you rest from your exercise before you are exhausted). Cf. Pseudo-Pythag. *Aur. Vers.* 32, οὐδ' ὑγιείης τῆς περὶ σώμ' ἀμέλειαν ἔχειν χρή | ἀλλὰ ποιοῦ τε μέτρον καὶ σίτου γυμνασίων τε | ποιεῖσθαι μέτρον δὲ λέγω τὸδ' ὃ μὴ σ' ἀνίησει, and Celsus, 1. 2 (quoted

μην ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν· τούτου δ' ἂν ἐπιτύχοις, εἰ λήγῃς τῶν πόνων ἔτι πονεῖν δυνάμενος.

- 15 Μῆτε γέλωτα προπητῇ στέργε μήτε λόγον μετὰ θράσους ἀποδέχου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόητον, τὸ δὲ μαυικόν. Ἄ ποιεῖν αἰσχρὸν, ταῦτα νόμιζε μηδὲ λέγειν εἶναι καλόν. Ἐθίζε σεαυτὸν εἶναι μὴ σκυθρωπὸν ἀλλὰ σύννου· δι' ἐκείνο μὲν γὰρ αὐθάδης, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο φρόνιμος εἶναι δόξεις. Ἠγοῦ μάλιστα σεαυτῷ πρέπειν κόσμον, αἰσχύνην δικαιοσύνην σωφροσύνην· b τούτοις γὰρ ἕπασι δοκεῖ κρατεῖσθαι τὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἥθος.

by Faccioliati), 'exercitationis plerumque finis esse debet sudor; aut certe lassitudo quae citra fatigationem sit.'

15. **μήτε...μανικόν.]** 'Love not headlong laughter, and embrace not rashness of speech; for the latter is folly, the former madness.' *μανικόν* is a stronger word than *ἀνόητον*. Cf. the gradation in Isocr. *Panath.* § 157, *εἰς τοῦτ' ἦλθεν οὐκ ἀνοίας ἀλλὰ μανίας*. τὸ μὲν refers to λόγον, κ.τ.λ., and τὸ δὲ to γέλωτα, κ.τ.λ. The sense gained by translating τὸ μὲν, 'the former,' τὸ δὲ, 'the latter,' though much may be said for it, is, perhaps, less forcible. It is perfectly natural to describe wild and giddy laughter as a characteristic of madness, and rashness of speech as a sign of senselessness.—Cf. Epictetus, *Manuale*, cap. 33, 4, *γέλως μὴ πολλὸς ἔστω· μηδὲ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς, μηδὲ ἀνεμῆνος*. Geo. Herbert, *Church Porch*, 'Laugh not too much: the wittie man laughs least;' and Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*, 112, *Frequent and loud laughter is the characteristic of folly and ill-manners: it is the manner in which the mob express their silly joy at silly things; and they call it being merry...I am neither of a melancholy, nor a cynical disposition; and am as willing, and as apt to be pleased as any body; but I am sure that, since I have had the full use of my reason, nobody has ever heard me laugh*. v. also *Let.* 134.

μήτε...ἀποδέχου] does not mean

'Do not welcome rashness of speech in others,' but 'do not embrace it yourself.'—'Facile intelligitur, Demonico praecipi quid ipsi faciendum, quidve fugiendum sit,' Wolf. If, however, the expression refers to the way in which Demonius is to treat the rash speeches of others, then *μήτε...στέργε* must also be taken in a similar sense.

ἄ ποιεῖν...καλόν.] Hence probably the line in Publius Syrus, n. 793, '*Quod facere turpe est, dicere honestum ne puta.*'

ἐθίζε...ἥθος.] 'Accustom yourself not to be sullen, but meditative; for owing to the former men will think you stubborn, owing to the latter, sensible. Consider that the ornament which best becomes you, is modesty, justice and self-restraint; for by all these things the character of young men appears to be controlled.'

σκυθρωπόν.] For this and a variety of other words expressive of sullen sternness read the speech of Hercules in Eur. *Alc.* 773—802.

αὐθάδης.] In the *Eudemian Ethics*, III. 7, the αὐθάδης is described as *μηδὲν πρὸς ἑτερον ζῶν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονητικός*. In the *Magna Moralia*, 29, Aristotle reminds us of the derivation of the word (αὐτός, and ἡδομαι)—lit. 'self-pleasing,' 'self-willed,' 'stubborn.'

κόσμον.] The ordinary punctuation is thus: ἡγοῦ μ.σ.π. κόσμον, αἰσχύνην, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην.

- 16 Μηδέποτε μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσας ἔλπιζε λήσειν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους λάθῃς, σεαυτῷ συνειδήσεις.

Τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς φοβοῦ, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς τίμα, τοὺς δὲ φίλους αἰσχύνου, τοῖς δὲ νόμοις πείθου.

Τὰς ἡδονὰς θήρενε τὰς μετὰ δόξης· τέρψις γὰρ σὺν τῷ· καλῶ μὲν ἄριστον, ἀνευ δὲ τούτου κάκιστον.

- 17 Εὐλαβοῦ τὰς διαβολὰς, καὶ ψευδεῖς ὦσιν· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν ἀγνοοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἀποβλέπουσιν. Ἄπαντα δόκει ποιεῖν ὡς μηδένα λήσων· καὶ γὰρ ἂν παραντίκα κρύψῃς, ὕστερον ὀφθήσῃ. μάλιστα δ' ἂν εὐ-

This must mean 'consider that propriety, sense of shame, uprightness and self-mastery especially become you.' To this punctuation and translation there are two objections,

(1) Isocrates never uses *κόσμος* as a synonym of *εὐκοσμία*, but in the sense of 'ornament.' (2) Even on the assumption that *κόσμος* may be translated 'propriety' in Isocr., we then have an awkward sequence of words consisting of three specific terms immediately following the generic term in which they are included,—a collocation as unnatural, in an enumeration, as 'flowers, roses, violets and blue-bells,' or any similar series.—For these reasons I prefer placing (with Schn.) a comma after *κόσμον* alone, and taking it in close conjunction with *πρέπειν*, lit. 'become you, as an ornament.'

κρατεῖσθαι.] Here = κατέχεσθαι, contineri.

16. μηδέποτε μηδέν.] Here the negatives strengthen and do not destroy one another. Cf. Plato *Parm.* 166 A, τὰλλα τῶν μὴ ὄντων οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς οὐδεμίαν κοινότητα ἔχει. v. also Madv. *Syn.* § 209 b. The same idiom is not uncommon in Chaucer and Shaksp. e.g. *Canterb. Tales*, Prolog. 70, *He never yet no vilonye ne sayde In al his lyf, unto no maner wight.*

συνειδήσεις.] Future of σύννοια, rarely used in Attic Gk., in § 44

we find *εἰδήσεις*, but in Isocr. *Sophist.* § 3, we have the common fut. of *οἶδα*. ἃ τε πρακτέον ἐστὶν εἰσονται καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστήμης εὐδαίμονες γενήσονται. *εἰδήσω* is more Ionic than Att. but is found also in Aristot. *Magn. Mor.* I, 1, 3. 18. (Veitch, *Gk. Verbs*, p. 187-8). Benseler quotes *συνειδήσεις* and *εἰδήσεις* as departures from Isocratean usage and as tending to prove the spuriousness of this *Ep.* It is however highly probable that the rarer forms may have been designedly chosen with a view to securing *ὁμοιοτέλετον* or the 'jingle of like endings' λήσειν—συνειδήσεις· εὐρήσεις—εἰδήσεις, just as in the passage quoted from *Sophist.* § 3, the common form *εἰσονται* corresponds in sound to *γενήσονται*.

τέρψις... ἄριστον.] Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 109, *τερπνὸν ἐκ κυναγίας τράπεζα πληρὴς*. and Madv. *Syn.* § 1 b, R. 3. 17. διαβολάς.] In pass. sense, 'Beware of calumnies' (against yourself) not 'Beware of calumniating others.'

κρύψῃς.] Must be translated in its true transitive sense, which it always keeps in prose writers. The two passages (*Soph. El.* 826. Eur. *Phan.* 1117) sometimes quoted from the poets to prove that κρύπτειν may be intrans. are easily explained: see Mr Jebb's n. on *Soph. El.* l.c.

μάλιστα... ἐπιτιμώης.] Possibly borrowed from Thales, of whom

δοκιμοίης, εἰ φαίνοιο τὰυτα μὴ πράττων, ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν πράττουσιν ἐπιτιμώης.

- 18 Ἐὰν ᾗς φιλομαθής, ἔσει πολυμαθής. Ἄ μὲν ἐπίστασαι, τὰυτα διαφύλαττε ταῖς μελέταις, ἂ δὲ μὴ μεμάθηκας, προσλάμβανε ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις· ὁμοίως γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἀκούσαντα χρήσιμον λόγον μὴ μαθεῖν καὶ διδόμενόν τι ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τῶν φίλων μὴ λαβεῖν. Κατανάλισκε τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ σχολὴν εἰς τὴν τῶν λόγων φιληκοῖαν· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις χα-
19 λεπῶς εὐρημένα συμβήσεται σοι ῥαδίως μαθάνειν. Ἦγοῦ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων πολλὰ πολλῶν εἶναι χρημάτων κρείττω· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ταχέως ἀπολείπει, τὰ δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον παραμένει· σοφία γὰρ μόνον τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον. Μὴ δὲ κατόκειν μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς διδάσκειν τι χρήσιμον ἐπαγγελλομένους· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπέρους

Diogenes Laert. i. § 36, says: Θαλῆς, ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν ἀριστα καὶ δικαιοῦτα βιώσαιμεν, ἔαν, ἔφη, ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν αὐτοὶ μὴ δρῶμεν. Cf. *Nicocl.* § 61, περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις κατηγορήτε, μηδὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτηδεύετε.

18. ἔαν—πολυμαθής.] *i. e.* 'If learning you love, most learned you'll be.' *'Isocrates....did cause to be written, at the entrie of his schole, in golden letters, this golden sentence, εἰς τῆς φιλομαθῆς, ἔση πολυμαθῆς, which excellentlie said in Greeke, is thus rudelie in Englishe, if thou lovest learning, thou shalt attayne to moch learning.'* Ascham's *Scholemaster*, p. 24 (ed. Mayor). I can find no trace of authority for Ascham's 'ethical narrative': the story, however graceful, is probably untrue, otherwise it might throw some light on the vexed question of the authorship of this *Ep.*—At Shrewsbury school, the words may be seen over one of the entrances, inscribed 'in golden letters,' and further illustrated by a pair of quaint symbolical statues, representing φιλομαθῆς and πολυμαθῆς respectively.

πρ. ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις.] 'Add to your knowledge': ἐπιστήμαις, dat. after προσλάμβανε and not (like μελέ-

tais) an instrumental dative, as some take it. The parallelism or parallelism of the sentence is, I admit, slightly in favour of making the 2nd dative identical in construction with the 1st: τ. ἐπιστήμαις would then mean 'by learning,' 'by application.' But the meaning of ἐπιστήμαις is fixed by the previous verb ἐπίστασαι and must here= 'knowledge.'—If the parallelism had to be kept up at all hazards, we should have to adopt the conjecture of Wytttenbach (ap. Schneid.) προσλάμβανε ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις.

19. πολλὰ πολλῶν.] The collocation is intentional, and is also found in other artistic writers. Cf. *e.g.* Demosth. *adv. Lept.* § 78. p. 480, ἀπὸ πολλῶν πολλὰ (τρόπαια). Isocr. *de perm.* 217, τιμῆς ἕνεκα φημι πάντας πάντα πράττειν. Plat. *Menex.* p. 249 c, πᾶσαν πάντως παρὰ πάντα ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένην. κτημάτων.] *Al. χρημάτων, v.* Table of var. readings.

μὴ κατόκειν—διάνοιαν.] Cf. Theognis, 71, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐσθλὸν ἰὼν βουλευέο, πολλὰ μογήσας | καὶ μακρὴν ποσσὶν Κῦρ' ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσας.

αἰσχρὸν.... μὲν.... δέ.] Cf. § 11 αἰσχρὸν... γονέων. n.

τηλικαῦτα πελάγη διαπερᾶν ἔνεκα τοῦ πλείω ποιῆσαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους μηδὲ τὰς κατὰ γῆν πορείας ὑπομένειν ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίῳ καταστήσαι τὴν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν.

- 20 Τῷ μὲν τρόπῳ γύγνου φιλοπροσήγορος, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ εὐπροσήγορος. ἔστι δὲ φιλοπροσηγορίας μὲν τὸ προσφώνειν b τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, εὐπροσηγορίας δὲ τὸ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς οἰκείως ἐντυγχάνειν. Ἡδέως μὲν ἔχε πρὸς ἅπαντας, χρώδ δὲ τοῖς βελτίστοις· οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀπεχθὴς ἔσει, τοῖς δὲ φίλος γενήσεται. Τὰς ἐντεύξεις μὴ ποιῶν πυκνὰς τοῖς αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μακρὰς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. πλησμονὴ γὰρ ἀπάντων.
- 21 Γύμναζε σεαυτὸν πόνοις ἐκουσίοις, ὅπως ἂν δύνῃ καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσίους ὑπομένειν. Ὅφ' ὧν κρατεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν c αἰσχροῦ, τούτων ἐγκράτειαν ἄσκει πάντων, κέρδους, ὀργῆς, ἡδονῆς, λύπης. ἔσει δὲ τοιοῦτος, ἐὰν κέρδη μὲν εἶναι νομίζῃς, δι' ὧν εὐδοκιμήσεις, ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' ὧν εὐπορήσεις· τῇ

20. τῷ—εὐπροσήγορος.] 'Be courteous in character and affable in speech.' The word εὐπροσήγορος is perfectly common; φιλοπροσήγορος is found in Plutarch. *Moral.* p. 9. extr. (quoted by Schneid.) ἐντευκτικοὺς τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι παρασκευαστέον καὶ φιλοπροσηγόρους. φιλοπροσηγορία (*comitas*) and εὐπροσηγορία (*affabilitas*) appear, however, to be used in this passage alone. In formation, the last two words are unexceptional, and, although Benseler would class them among the 'verba rara et ab Isocratis usu aliena,' there seems little reason to doubt the possibility of their having been actually used by Isocrates.—In λόγῳ εὐπροσήγορος the *hiatus* has not been used as usual, avoided.* See *Introd. on style of Isocr.*

21. γύμναζε—ὑπομένειν.] The thought and expression seem to be borrowed from Democritus (Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 29) οἱ ἐκούσιοι πόνοι τὴν τῶν ἀκουσίων ὑπομονὴν ἐλαφροτέρην κατασκευάζουσι.

ὅφ' ὧν—εὐπορήσεις.] 'Practise

self-mastery in all those passions, to be over-mastered by which is disgraceful to the soul, viz. lucre, anger, pleasure and pain. Such a character you will be, if, as things *lucrative*, you deem those which will increase your reputation and *not* those which will increase your resources.'—τοιούτος=ἐγκρατής implied in ἐγκράτεια, see *Paneg.* § 110. n.

ἐγκράτειαν κ. τ. λ.] Aristot. *Eth.* VII. 1. 7. ἀκρατεῖς λέγονται, καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ κέρδους. On the difference between ἐγκρατής and ἀκρατής cf. Aristot. *Eth.* VII. 1. 6. 'The man of imperfect self-control (ὁ ἀκρατής) does things at the prompting of his passions, although he knows that they are wrong, while the man of self-control (ὁ ἐγκρατής), knowing his lusts to be wrong, refuses, by the influence of reason, to follow their suggestions.' σωφροσύνη=perfected self-mastery, ἐγκράτεια=self-control, ἀκρασία=imperfect self-control, ἀκολασία=utter absence of self-control.

εὐδοκιμήσεις... εὐπορήσεις.] An

δ' ὀργήν παραπλησίως ἔχῃς πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας, ὥσπερ ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔχειν ἀξιώσεως· ἐν δὲ τοῖς τερπνοῖς, ἐὰν αἰσχροὺς ὑπολάβῃς τῶν μὲν οἰκετῶν ἄρχειν, ταῖς δ' ἡδοναῖς δουλεύειν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς, ἐὰν τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀτυχίας ἐπιβλέπῃς καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὦν ὑπομιμνήσκῃς.

- 22 Μᾶλλον τήρει τὰς τῶν λόγων ἢ τὰς τῶν χρημάτων παρκαταθήκας· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τρόπον ὅρκου πιστότερον φαίνεσθαι παρεχομένους. Προσθήκειν ἡγοῦ τοῖς

instance of *παρομοίωσις*, exemplifying both ὁμοιοκἀταρκτον and ὁμοιοτέλευτον.

πρὸς ἑαυτὸν.] See § 14, ἑαυτοῦ. n. ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς.] The four terms, κέρδους, ὀργῆς, ἡδονῆς, λύπης, are taken up *seriatim* in the long sentence immediately following them. In that sentence the four corresponding terms are, κέρδη, τῇ ὀργῇ, ἐν τοῖς τερπνοῖς, ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς respectively. Therefore ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς = ἐν τοῖς λυπηροῖς (which is the actual reading of some MSS., arising probably from a marginal explanation), 'in painful things.'—The word πονηρός, like μοχθηρός, has two senses: (1) that of physical distress (as here), (2) that of moral depravity (as in § 22). Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 220:

Α. ὅσοις δικαίοις οὖσιν οὐκ ἦν ἀλφίτα.

Β. παπαὶ πονηροὺς γ' εἶπας ἡμῖν ζυμμάχους.

'In Greek, the words πονηρός, κακός and κακότης, δειλός, δύστηνος, μέλεος, σχέτλιος, ταλαίπωρος, τλήμων, are all employed, by the poets principally, in this double sense. In Latin we have *miser* and *tristis*; in French *miserable*; in Italian *tristo*; and in English *wretch* and *wretched*, *unhappy* and *sad*, as a *sad fellow*, a *sad dog*.' From Mr Cope's n. on Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 505 A.

αὐ. ὡς ἀνθ. ὦν ὑπ.] Schneider quotes Menander, *Fragm.* 101, ἀνθρώπος ὦν τοῦτ' ἔστι καὶ μέμνησ' ἀελ. ἐὰν αὐτὸν ὑπομιμνήσκῃς = ἐὰν μνησθῇς, and after 'verbs of knowledge

and experience' (such as ὀδα, μέμνημαι, ἐπίσταμαι), if the subject of the leading verb should also be its object, the participle is put in the nominative and referred to the subject; e.g. ἔστι ἀνόητος ὦν. The peculiarity of ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὦν may be stated in one of two ways, either ὦν is used where εἰ might have been expected [Cf. Thuc. iv. 37, γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Κλέων καὶ Δημοσθένης, ὅτι, εἰ καὶ ὁποσονοῦν μᾶλλον ἐνδύσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διαφθαρσομένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρης στρατιᾶς, ἔπασαν τὴν μάχην], or (which is preferable) ὡς is somewhat irregularly prefixed to the participle. In the latter case, cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 3, 15, ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ...μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω. Soph. *Phil.* 253, ὡς μὴδὲν εἰδὸτ' ἔστι μ' ὦν ἀνιστορεῖς. Madv. *Synt.* § 178 a, R. 3 and 5, also § 181, and Goodwin's *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 113, n. 10.

On αὐτὸν = σαυτὸν, see § 14, ἑαυτοῦ. n.

22. λόγων...παρακατ.] Cf. Anaxandrides (ap. Stob. *Flor.* xli. 2), ὅστις λόγους παρακαταθήκην γὰρ λαβὼν (fort. leg. παραλαβὼν) | ἐξείπεν ἀδικὸς ἐστὶν ἢ ἀκρατὴς ἄγαν.

τρόπον ὅρκου π.] Cf. the account of Xenocrates in Cic. *pro Balbo*, v. § 12, 'Athenis aiunt, quum quidam apud eos, qui sancte graviterque vixisset, et testimonium dixisset, ut (ut mos Graecorum est) iurandi causa ad aras accederet, una voce omnes iuāices, ne is iuraret, reclusa.'

πονηροῖς ἀπιστεῖν, ὥσπερ τοῖς χρηστοῖς πιστεύειν. Περὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μηδενὶ λέγε, πλὴν ἐὰν ὁμοίως συμφέρῃ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῶν πράξεις σιωπᾶσθαι σοὶ τε τῷ λέγοντι κάκεινους τοὺς ἀκούου-

23 σιν. "Ὀρκον ἐπακτὸν προσδέχου διὰ δύο προφάσεις, ἢ σεαυτὸν αἰτίας αἰσχροῦς ἀπολύων, ἢ φίλους ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων διασώζων. ἔνεκα δὲ χρημάτων μηδένα θεῶν ὁμόσης, μηδ' ἂν εὐορκεῖν μέλλῃς· δόξεις γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιορκεῖν, γὰρ τοῖς δὲ φιλοχρημάτως ἔχειν.

24 Μηδένα φίλον ποιού, πρὶν ἂν ἐξετάσης, πῶς κέχρηται τοῖς πρότερον φίλοις· ἔλπιζε γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ σὲ γενέ-

περὶ τ. ἀπορρήτων.] 'About secrets, speak to no one, except it be equally advantageous, to you that speak and to those that hear, that the actions be kept secret;' i. e. do not tell a secret to a person who has a greater interest than yourself in divulging it, '*nemini arcana tua credas nisi illi, de quo certus sis, proprii commodi causa ea esse celaturum.*' Lange proposes to insert *μὴ* before *σιωπᾶσθαι*, and translates, '*nisi res illas non taceri, i. e. vulgari, aequè expediat tibi, qui evulgas, ac aliis qui istas audiunt.*' The sense thus obtained is good in itself, but the insertion of *μὴ* has no MS. authority.

23. ὀρκον ἐπακτὸν.] 'Accept an imposed oath for two reasons only, either to free yourself from a shameful charge, or to rescue your friends from great perils.' Harpocration (fl. during or after 1st cent. A.D.) explains the phrase thus: *ἐπακτος ὄρκος· ὃν αὐτὸς τις ἐκὼν αὐτῷ ἐπάγειται, τουτέστιν αἰρέται. Δυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Χαίρεστρατον καὶ Ἰσοκράτους Ἀπολλωνιάτης* [see *Introd. to Ep. ad Dem.*] ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Δημόνικον παλαιότησεσι. ἔστι δὲ ὄρκου τρία εἶδη, ἀπώμοτος καὶ κατώματος καὶ ὁ καλούμενος ἐπακτός. εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον οὐχ ἀπλοῦν· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν προτεινόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀρκίζοντος αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀντιφωνεῖν τὸν ὀρκιζόμενον. The first part of this explanation does not suit the passage before us: *ἐπακτός ὄρκος*

ought to mean 'an oath imposed from without,' 'an involuntary oath,' not 'an oath which a person willingly takes upon himself.' The latter part of the explanation contains a trace of the true meaning of the phrase: mention is there made of a species of ὄρκος ἐπ., in which the oath was tendered (*προτεινόμενον*) and dictated by one party (ὁ ὀρκίζων) and accepted *verbatim* by the other (ὁ ὀρκιζόμενος). Suidas (fl. 11th cent. A.D.) quotes Harpocration, and adds the words: *ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦναντίον, ὁ ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπιφερόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐθαίρετος.*

πρόφασιν] = 'plea,' 'reason,' 'ground' (cf. Thuc. vi. 6, τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει), but far oftener, in bad sense, = 'pretext,' 'pretence,' 'excuse.'

ἐνεκα—ἔχειν.] St Basil the Great (329—379 A.D.) *ad adolesc. cap. v.* (vii.) says of Clinias, the Pythagorean, ἐξὸν δὲ ὄρκου τριῶν ταλάντων ζημίαν ἀποφυγεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἀπέτισε μάλλον ἢ ὥμοσε, καὶ ταῦτα εὐορκεῖν μέλλων. Epictet. *Manuale*, c. xxxiii. 5, ὄρκον παραίτησαι, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε, εἰς ἅπαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων.

24 πῶς κέχρηται...] Cf. Epicharmus, *Frag.* 129 (ap. Cic. *ad Quint.* III. 1, 23), γινώθι πῶς ἄλλω κέχρηται.

καὶ περὶ σὲ...καὶ περὶ ἐκ.] The second καὶ cannot be translated except by emphasizing *ἐκείνους*. 'For you must expect him to shew the

σθαι τοιοῦτον, οἷος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους γέγονε. Βραδέως μὲν φίλος γίγνουν, γενόμενος δὲ πειρῶ διαμένειν. ὁμοίως γὰρ αἰσχροὺς μηδένα φίλον ἔχειν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐταίρους μεταλλάττειν. Μήτε μετὰ βλάβης πειρῶ τῶν φίλων μήτ' ἄπειρος ἔχειν τῶν ἐταίρων θέλε. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσεις, εἰ μὴ δέσμευος τὸ δέισθαι προσποιῇ. Περὶ τῶν ῥητῶν ὡς ἀπορρήτων ἀνακοινοῦ· μὴ τυχὼν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν βλαβήσει, τυχὼν δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὸν τρόπον ἐπιστήσει. Δοκίμαζε τοὺς φίλους ἕκ τε τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀτυχίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις

same character in dealing with you also, as he has shewn in dealing with *them*.' Cf. Isocr. *De Perm.* § 253, οὐκ οὖν χρὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν λόγων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν ἥνπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Thuc. VI. 13, τοῖς δὲ Ἑγεσταίοις ἰδίᾳ εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἀνευ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνήψαν... πόλεμον, μετὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ καταλύεσθαι. Plato, *Lysis*, 211 A, ἅπερ καὶ ἐμοὶ λέγεις, εἰπέ καὶ Μενεξένω. Gk. usage also admits of the omission of εἴther καί, e.g. we might have (as in Eng.) (1) Ἐλπίζε αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ σέ γε. τοῖ, οἷος περὶ ἐκείνους γέγονεν, or, still more idiomatically, (2) Ἐλπίζε αὐτὸν περὶ σέ γε. τοῖ, οἷος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους γέγονεν.

βραδέως...] A maxim possibly borrowed from Solon (ap. Diogen. Laert. I. § 60), φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ, οὗς δ' ἂν κτήσῃ μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε. Cf. Theognis, 1143.

ὁμοίως—μεταλλάττειν.] i.e. 'it is as disgraceful to have many comrades and to be constantly changing them as to have no true friend whatever.' Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 715), μὴ δὲ πολυζέωνον μὴδ' ἄζεωνον καλέεσθαι.

The weaker word ἐταῖρος is here naturally used when speaking of fitful and changing friendships, and in the very next sentence the difference between φίλος and ἐταῖρος is still partially kept up. 'Try not your friends to your own hurt, but be not willing to abstain altogether from trying your comrades.'

θέλε.] The form θέλω is used by the Attic Tragedians; the form

ἐθέλω by Hom., Hes., Theogn., and Pindar; Herodotus has both. 'In Attic prose θέλω is not frequent, and pretty much confined to the pres. θέλω, Antiphon, 3, 8, 3, θέλεις, Xen. *Hell.* 3, 4, 5, &c.; subj. θέλω, Thuc. 5, 35, &c.; opt. θέλοιμι, Thuc. 6 34; imper. θέλε, Isocr. 1, 24; θέλων, Xen. *Cyr.* 4, 5, 29; θέλειν, Pl. *Rep.* 391... ἐθέλω is far more frequent and is used after both vowels and consonants.' (Veitch, *Greek Verbs*, s.v.). —Benseler, in an exhaustive note (on Isocr. *Areop.* § 41), after giving more than 300 references to the Attic orators, makes this generalisation: 'Patebit ex his, quae nunc attuli, ἐθέλειν in oratoribus semper esse adhibitum consonante antecedente, interdum etiam vocali antecedente, quamquam tum θέλειν saepius legitur.'—Of Isocr. in particular he says, 'θέλειν tantummodo scripsit, si praecedens verbum in vocalem exit... θέλε exhibetur uno tantum in loco ab omn. Codd. *ad Demon.* § 24.' Schneider defends θέλε in this passage, on the ground that the laws of Gk. euphony may have led Isocr. to prefer it to θέλε.

τὸ δέισθαι προσποιῇ.] Bekker and Dindorf read εἰ μὴ δέσμευος του, δέισθαι προσποιῇ, but the MS. reading is supported by *Epp.* II. 22, προσποιούμαι τὸ βέλτιον φρονεῖν.

25. δοκίμαζε κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Ennius (ap. Cic. *de Amic.* 17. 64), *amicus certus in re incerta cernitur*.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ χροσίον.] On this use of μὲν...δὲ, v. § 12. The com-

κοινωνίας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον ἐν τῷ πυρὶ βασανίζομεν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχαίαις διαγιγνώσκομεν. Οὕτως ἄριστα χρήσει τοῖς φίλοις, ἐὰν μὴ προσμένῃς τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων δεήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτεπάγγελτος αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς
26 βοηθῇς. Ὁμοίως αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νόμιζε τῶν ἐχθρῶν νικᾶσθαι ταῖς κακοποιαίαις καὶ τῶν φίλων ἡττᾶσθαι ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις. Ἀποδέχου τῶν ἐταίρων μὴ μόνου τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς δυσχεραίνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μὴ φθονοῦντας· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀτυχούσι μὲν συνάχθονται, καλῶς δὲ
πράττουσι φθονοῦσι. Τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων μέμνησο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, ἵνα δοκῇς μὴδὲ τούτων ἀπόντων ὀλιγωρεῖν.

parison between testing gold in the fire and testing friendship in misfortune is common, e. g. Menander, *Fragm.* 143, χρυσὸς μὲν οἶδεν ἐξελέγχθαι πυρὶ | ἢ δ' ἐν φίλοις εὖνοια καιρῷ κρίνεται. Ovid, *Trist.* I. 5, 25. Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum, Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides. Menand. *Monost.* 276, κρίνει φίλους ὁ καιρὸς, ὡς χρυσὸν τὸ πῦρ. Also Theognis, 78, 415 sqq., 1105.

χρυσίον = χρυσὸς εἰργασμένος: similarly ἀργυρίον = ἀργυρὸς εἰργασμένος.

26. τῶν ἐχθρῶν....εὐεργεσίας.] A good example of ἀντίθεσις and παρίστωσις.—For the genitive after νικᾶσθαι, and ἡττᾶσθαι, cf. Eur. *Med.* 315, σιγησόμεσθα, κρείσσωνων νικώμενοι, and *Ion*, 1117, τὸ μὴ δίκαιον τῆς δίκης ἡσσώμενον. This gen. is really a gen. of *comparison*. 'The gen. stands with some verbs derived from a comparative, and expressing a comparison (e.g. πλεονεκτεῖν, ἐλασσοῦσθαι, ὑστερεῖν, ἡσσᾶσθαι), together with one or two others, which without being so derived, have a similar signification' (περιγίγνεσθαι, περιεῖναι, λείπεσθαι, νικᾶσθαι). Madv. *Synt.* § 64.

Isocr. assumes that it is disgraceful to be overcome by our enemies in doing injury, and states that it is equally disgraceful to be outdone by our friends in kindly offices. The

point assumed is a common maxim of popular pagan morality, e.g. in Aristot. *Rhet.* I. 6, 26, one of the 'things that are choice-worthy' (τὰ προαιρετὰ) is πράττειν...καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κακὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὰ. Cf. Xenoph. *Mem.* II. 6, 35, ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι νικᾶν τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς. Also Pindar. *Pyth.* II. 83 (=154), and *Isth.* III. 66 (=81).—To shew that this opinion met with some noble exceptions, we may refer to the words of Socrates (ap. Plat. *Rep.* I. 335), 'If any one states that it is just to render to every man his due, and if he means by this, that what is due from a just man is injury to his enemies and assistance to his friends, the statement is that of an unwise man: for the doctrine is really untrue, because it has been shewn that in no case is it just to injure anybody;' and of Diogenes (ap. Plutarch *de cap. ex inimicis utilitate*, 4 = p. 88 b) πῶς ἀμνησθαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν; αὐτὸς καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος. This is not the place for a comparison between pagan and Christian ethics, but the above passages are very suggestive in relation to Matthew v. 44, &c. Cf. § 29, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν.

καλῶς πρ. φθονοῦσι.] Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 832, πάντοτε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τὸδε | φίλου τὸν εὐτυχόντ' ἀνευ φθόνου σέβειν.

27 Εἶναι βούλου τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα φιλόκαλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ καλλωπιστής. ἔστι δὲ φιλοκάλου μὲν τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς, καλλωπιστοῦ δὲ τὸ περιέργον.

Ἀγάπα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν μὴ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν κτήσιν ἀλλὰ τὴν μετρίαν ἀπόλαυσιν. Καταφρόνει τῶν περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον σπουδαζόντων μὲν, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μὴ δυναμένων· παραπλήσιον γάρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι πάσχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἵππον κτήσαιο καλὸν κακῶς ἱππεύειν 8
28 ἐπιστάμενος. Πειρῶ τὸν πλοῦτον χρήματα καὶ κτήματα κατασκευάζειν· ἔστι δὲ χρήματα μὲν τοῖς ἀπολαύειν ἐπισταμένοις, κτήματα δὲ τοῖς κτᾶσθαι δυναμένοις. Τίμα τὴν ὑπάρχουσιν οὐσίαν δυοῖν ἔνεκεν, τοῦ τε ζημίαν μεγάλην ἐκτίσαι δύνασθαι, καὶ τοῦ φίλῳ σπουδαίῳ δυστυχοῦντι βοηθήσαι· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄλλον βίον μηδὲν ὑπερβαλλόντως β ἀλλὰ μετρίως αὐτὴν ἀγάπα.

27. εἶναι κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'In matters of dress, resolve to be tasteful, and not foppish. Now the tasteful man is marked by dignified grace, the fop by exquisite embellishment.' τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς is difficult to render adequately; it here implies a kind of 'becoming dignity' caused by the blending of the grand and the graceful. George Herbert's line, 'In clothes cheap *handsomenesse* doth bear the bell,' might possibly help us. In most other passages, 'magnificence' will fairly translate it. For the sense, cf. Shak. *Hamlet*, I. iii. *Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy, But not express'd in fancy; rich, not gaudy: For the apparel oft proclaims the man.*

28. πειρῶ κ.τ.λ.] 'Endeavour to build up wealth, both for use and for acquisition: now wealth is a thing of *use* to those who know how to enjoy it; a thing of *acquisition* to those who are able to acquire it.' κτήμα generally=that which one possesses (κέκτηται, obtinet), but here apparently means that which one acquires (κτᾶται, acquirit).

χρήματα κ. κτήματα.] Cf. *ad*

Nicochl. § 26, κτῆσαμένους...χρησαμένους. *Arocl.* § 35, κτήσεις...χρήσεις. Curius ap. Cic. *ad Fam.* VII. 29, 1, *sum enim χρήσει μὲν tuus, κτήσει δὲ Attici nostri*, and especially Aristot. *Rhet.* I. 5, ὅπως τὸ πλουτεῖν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι μάλλον ἢ ἐν τῷ κεκτήσθαι.

κτᾶσθαι.] This is the reading of the MSS., the common reading of the old editions was χρῆσθαι, a reading which has the merit of improving a truism, and giving a sense similar to the old precept, 'Get to live; Then live and use it, else it is not true That thou hast gotten.'

τίμα...] 'Prize your present property for two reasons,—that you may be able both to pay off a heavy fine, and to succour an honest friend in his misfortune.'

ἀγάπα.] 'Esteem,' 'regard,' ἀγαπᾶν is probably connected in derivation with the root of ἀγαμαι, and stands in the same relation to φιλεῖν as *diligere* does to *amare*. (On *στοργή*, ἔρως, φιλεῖν, ἀγαπᾶν, see Mr Cope's article, *Journ. of Philology*, I. 1, p. 88—93.)

29 Στέργε μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ζήτει δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα.

Μηδενὶ συμφορὰν ὀνειδίσῃς· κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἄδρατον.

Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εὖ ποιεῖ· καλὸς γὰρ θησαυρὸς παρ' ἀνδρὶ σπουδαίῳ χάρις ὀφειλομένη. Τοὺς κακοὺς εὖ ποιῶν ὅμοια πείσει τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτριὰς κύνας σιτίζουσιν· ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ τοὺς διδόντας ὥσπερ τοὺς τυχόντας ὑλακτοῦσιν, οἳ τε κακοὶ τοὺς ὠφελοῦντας ὥσπερ τοὺς βλάπτοντας ἀδικού-
30 σιν. Μίσει τοὺς κολακεύοντας ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐξαπατώντας·

29. στέργε.] στέργειν (as well as αἰνεῖν and ἀγαπᾶν) has often, as here, the meaning 'acquiesce in,' 'tolerate,' 'put up with,' 'be content with.' Elsewhere, in Isocr., the construction is different from that of the present passage: e.g. *De pace*, § 6, στέργειν τοῖς παροῦσι, and § 23, οὐ στέργοντας ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ἔχωμεν ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγομένους. The acc., however, is found in Hdt. ix. 17, οὕτω δὴ ἔσπερξαν τὰ παρὲόντα, Eur. *Phoen.* 1685, τὰμ' ἐγὼ στέρξω κακὰ, and Dem. *Callicl.* § 22, τὴν τυχὴν στέργειν, and is here used parallel with the acc. τὰ βέλτιστα.

μηδενὶ συμ. ὀν.] = *Nemini calamitatem exprobraveris*, 'Reproach no man with his misfortune.' Obs. the difference between the Eng. and the Gk. and Latin idioms. Cf. Theognis, 117, χρήματ' ἔχων πενήν μ' ὀνειδίσας, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μοι ἔσται, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔξω θεοῖσιν ἐπενεῖσθαι. Dem. *Androt.* p. 612, § 62, τὰς ἰδίας συμφορὰς ὀνειδίζειν καὶ προσφέρειν ἐκάστω, and Isocr. *Paneg.* § 107.

κοινὴ...ἄδρατον.] These epithets are placed expressly at the beginning and end of the sentence, to bring out a stronger emphasis. Cf. also § 7, πλοῦτον κρείττων. n.

τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εὖ ποιεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] = 'Bonis benefacio' (Dion. Catonis *Distich.* i. 36). The limitation is curious. Equally low is the moral tone of the following lines from Theognis, 105 sqq. δειλοὺς δ' εὖ ἐρ-

δοντι ματαιοτάτῃ χάρις ἐστίν, | Ἴσον γὰρ σπείρειν πόντον ἁλὸς πολιῆς· | οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πόντον σπείρων, βαθὺ λήϊον ἀμῶς, | οὔτε κακοὺς εὖ δρών, εὖ πάλιν ἀντιλέβοις, κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 26. n.

καλὸς...ὀφειλομένη.] For the sentiment and the words cf. Agapetus (Deacon of Ch. of St Sophia, 527 A.D.), *ad Justinian. adhortat.* c. 7, μόνος τῆς εὐπορίας ὁ θησαυρὸς μόνιμος ἐστὶ τοῖς κεκτημένοις αὐτόν. τῶν γὰρ ἀγαθῶν ἔργων αἱ χάριτες ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιῶντας ἐπαναστρέφουσιν.

τοὺς τυχόντας ὑλακτοῦσιν.] Aristotle (*Eth.* vii. 6, 1), speaking of anger, used the same homely illustration, εὐλοκε γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς ἀκούειν μὲν τι τοῦ λόγου, παρακούειν δέ, καθάπερ...οἱ κύνες, πρὶν σκέψασθαι εἰ φίλος, ἂν μόνον ψοφήσῃ, ὑλακτοῦσιν. [Philippians iii. 2, βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας.]

Obs. the use of τε in ἐκεῖναί τε...οἳ τε κακοί, 'both—and,' i.e. 'just as'—'so.' See § 32 for the same use of τε in a partial comparison.

30. μίσει...ἀπεχθανομένους.] Trans. 'Abhor flatterers as you would abhor deceivers, for both alike, when trusted, do wrong to those that trusted them. If you welcome those friends who are ready to be complaisant, to your greatest injury; you will, throughout your life, be destitute of those who are ready to incur your hatred for your highest good.' A little difficulty has sometimes been felt about the meaning of this sentence: e.g. Rodolphus Agricola

ἀμφοτέροι γὰρ πιστευθέντες τοὺς πιστεύσαντας ἀδικοῦσιν. Ἐὰν ἀποδέχτην φίλων τοὺς πρὸς τὸ φαυλότατον χαρίζομενους, οὐχ ἔξεις ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοὺς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπεχθανομένους. Γίγνου πρὸς τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὁμιλητικὸς, ἀλλὰ δὲ μὴ σεμνός· τὸν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὑπεροπτικῶν ὄγκον μόλις ἂν οἱ δοῦλοι καρτερήσῃαι, τὸν δὲ τῶν ὁμιλητικῶν τρόπον

(one of the earliest translators of this *Ep.*) renders the last clause 'qui tibi ad ea quae sunt optima, assistant.' It is just possible (as suggested by Wolf) that he read *πιστοαμένους*, but no one has seriously proposed to alter the MS. reading *ἀπεχθανομένους*. The sentence is, I believe, perfectly coherent and intelligible. The mention of 'flatterers,' and the warning against them, naturally lead the writer to an admonition respecting false friends. He tells Demonicus that if he chooses for his companions men who are ready to cringe to him and gratify him for his apparent advantage, but real hurt, he will, through life, miss the 'faithful wounds' inflicted by those who for his real good are ready, if necessary, to be his apparent enemies. [Proverbs xxvii. 6; xxviii. 23.] See § 45.

ΠΙΣΤΕΥΘΕΝΤΕΣ. *πιστεύω* in the act. 'governs' a dat. of the person and acc. of the thing (*πιστεύω τινί τι*), and is only *indirectly* transitive; and, strictly speaking, only a *direct* transitive can be converted into a true passive. The use of the passive, therefore, in *πιστευθείς* is noteworthy; and at the first blush of the matter would seem to imply the existence of such a formula as *πιστεύω τινά τι*, which does not really exist. The same peculiarity may be noticed in Isocr. *de Bigis*, § 26, *ἐπιστευθήσαν* (οἱ Ἀλκμαϊονίδαι), *de Pace*, § 76, *πιστευόμενον* (τὸν δῆμον), Dem. in *Aristocr.* 622, § 4, *τῶν πολιτευομένων καὶ πιστευομένων*, in *Conon*, 1269, § 40, and elsewhere. The same is the case with *other* verbs which are not directly trans.

A list of more than twenty such Greek verbs (*e.g.* ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, καταγελασθῆναι, κατηγορεῖσθαι, ὑπερέχεσθαι, φθονεῖσθαι, ἀπειλεῖσθαι) is given by Mr Cope, *Journal of Philol.* i. i. 93—96. To these may be added *παρωνεῖν*, which in the act. is intransitive (although Lidd. and Scott, by a curious inadvertence, quote Dem. in *Con.* 1257, 13, to prove that it may be trans. in act., ταύτην [*ε. τὴν ὥραν*] ἂν ἤδη ἐπαρόνουν οὗτοι... εἰς τοὺς παῖδας). For the pass. v. Dem. in *Con.* 1258, 7, *παρωνομένους ὑπὸ τούτων*, and *De Fals. Leg.* 403, § 220. Similarly we have *παρανομῖν εἰς τινά*, and *παρανενομήσθαι*. The instances of this peculiarity in Latin are mostly poetical (Ovid. *A. A.* iii. 679, *persuasus erit*; *Amor.* ii. 6, 61, *Col-ligor... placuisse*), and mainly confined to the perf. pass. part. (*e.g.* *regnatus*, *triumphatus*, *bacchatus*). Tacitus, whose diction is often poetical, uses the passives *triumpharetur*, *regnantur* and *ministrantur* (Dräger, *Syntax u. Stil des Tacitus*, § 26).

ΧΑΡΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ. Cf. Dem. in *Aristocr.* 664, § 134, *ἐστὶ γὰρ φίλων ἀγαθῶν οὐ τοιαῦτα χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς εἵνοις ἐξ ὧν κακείνοις καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται τις βλάβη, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἂν μέλλῃ συνολοῖεν ἀμφοῖν, συμπαρά-τειν, ὁ δ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀμεινον ἐκείνων προορᾷ, πρὸς τὸ καλῶς ἔχον τίθεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὴν ἡδὴ χάριν τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνου παντὸς περὶ πλείονος ἡγεῖσθαι.*

ἈΠΕΧΘΑΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ. The exact opposite to *χαρίζομένους*, *e.g.* Isocr. *Ep.* 9, 12, *δεξιὰ μιν ἂν δικαίως ἐπιτιμῆσας ἀπεχθέσθαι μάλλον ἢ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἐπαινέσας χαρίσασθαι.*

31 ἅπαντες ἡδέως ὑποφέρουσιν. ὁμιλητικὸς δ' ἔσει μὴ δύσερις ὦν μηδὲ δυσάρεστος μηδὲ πρὸς πάντας φιλόνομος, μηδὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλησιαζόντων ὀργὰς τραχέως ἀπαντῶν, μηδ' ἐὰν ἀδίκως ὀργιζόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν, ἀλλὰ θυμουμένοις μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰκῶν, πεπαυμένοις δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιπλήττων· μηδὲ παρὰ τὰ γελοῖα σπουδάζων, μηδὲ παρὰ τὰ σπουδαῖα τοῖς γελοίοις χαίρων (τὸ γὰρ ἄκαιρον πανταχοῦ λυπηρόν)· μηδὲ τὰς χάριτας ἀχαρίστως χαριζόμενος, ὅπερ πάσχουσιν οἱ πολλοί, ποιοῦντες μὲν, ἀηδῶς δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ὑπουργοῦντες· μηδὲ φιλαίτιος ὦν, βαρὺ γὰρ, μηδὲ φιλεπιτιμητῆς, παρο- 9
ξυντικὸν γάρ.

32 Μάλιστα μὲν εὐλαβοῦ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πότοις συνουσίας· ἐὰν δέ ποτέ σοι συμπέσῃ καιρὸς, ἐξανίστασο πρὸ μέθης. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ὑπ' οἴνου διαφθαρῇ, ταῦτα πάσχει τοῖς ἄρ-

31. **φιλόνομος.**] Derived from φίλος and νόμη [φιλόνομος (Plat. *Protag.* 336 E, &c.) is really a separate word, derived from νέικος]. Cf. Aristot. *Rhet.* II. 12, 6, φιλότιμοι μὲν εἰσι, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλόνομοι· ὑπεροχῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ νεότης, ἡ δὲ νίκη ὑπεροχὴ τις. Plat. *Rep.* IX. 582 E, &c. The two words are constantly interchanged in MSS.

χάριτας ἀχαρίστως χαρίζομενος.] Cf. Eur. *Erechth.* (Fragm. 353, 1), τὰς χάριτας ὅστις εὐγενῶς χαρίζεται | ἡδίστον ἐν βροτοῖσιν· οὐ δὲ δρῶσι μὲν, | χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ δρῶσι, δυσγενέστεροι.

An accusative of the notion contained in a verb may stand with a verb which governs a proper object-accusative. This acc. has generally, as here, the same root as the verb, and must be defined by an adj., pron., *advb.*, or attributive clause; e.g. Dem. *de Cor.* § 239, κενὰς χαρίζει χάριτας. Hor. *Carm.* III. 29, 50, ludum insolentem ludere. See Madv. *Gk. Syn.* § 26 a, b; Mr Mayor's note on Cic. *Philipp.* II. § 42; and, for the fullest account, Lobeck, *Paralipom.* (p. 501—538, *de figura etymologica*).

32. **μάλιστα μὲν—μέθης.**] 'If possible, avoid drinking-parties altoget-

ther; but if ever such an occasion befall you, rise up from your place before you are drunk.' Herbert, *Ch. Porch.*, 'Stay at the third cup; or forego the place, Wine above all things doth God's stamp deface.' The form of the precept is borrowed from Theognis, 484, μὴ πῖν' οἶνον ὑπερβολάδην, | ἀλλ' ἢ πρὶν μεθεῖν ὑπανίστασο... ἢ παρεὼν μὴ πῖνε.

τὰς ἐν τοῖς πότοις συνουσίας, lit. 'meetings consisting of (or involving) carousals.' The precept is characteristic of Isocr. Cf. his indignant remarks, *de Perm.* §§ 285-7. 'The most promising of our young men pass their youth in drinking-parties (ἐν πότοις καὶ συνουσίαις) and idle amusements, while you (men of Athens) disregard all anxiety for their improvement. Those, again, who have inferior gifts of nature, spend the day in such vices as, in former times, not even a slave of any decency would have dared to practise; for some of them may be seen drinking in taverns, and others cooling their wine at the fountain of Enneacrunus, &c.'

ὅταν—διανοίας.] 'For when the mind is enfeebled by wine, it is in the same condition as chariots that

μασι τοῖς τοῦς ἡνίοχους ἀποβαλοῦσιν· ἐκεῖνά τε γὰρ ἀτάκτως φέρεται διαμαρτύνοντα τῶν εὐθυνούντων, ἥ τε ψυχὴ **b** πολλὰ σφάλλεται διαφθαρείσης τῆς διανοίας.

Ἀθάνατα μὲν φρόνει τῷ μεγάλῳ ψυχος εἶναι, θνητὰ δὲ τῷ συμμέτρως τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπολαύειν.

- 33 Ἡγοῦ τὴν παιδείαν τοσοῦτῳ μείζον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοχθηρὰ πάντες κερδαίνοντες πράττουσιν, αὕτη δὲ μόνῃ καὶ προσεξημίωσε τοὺς ἔχοντας· πολλάκις γὰρ ὧν τοῖς λόγοις ἐλύπησαν, τούτων τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔδοσαν.

Οὕς ἂν βούλη ποιήσασθαι φίλους, ἀγαθὸν τι λέγε περὶ **c** αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας· ἀρχὴ γὰρ φιλίας μὲν ἔπαινος, ἔχθρας δὲ ψόγος.

- 34 Βουλευόμενος παραδείγματα ποιῶν τὰ παρεληλυθότα τῶν

have lost (*not* 'thrown away') their drivers; for just as *they* are borne along without control, when they have missed those who should guide them (*fut. part.*), even thus is the soul *off* overthrown, when the intellect is enfeebled.' The comparison of the *ψυχὴ* to the *ἄρματα* may remind us of the famous *mythos* in Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 247—257, where the *ψυχὴ* is elaborately compared to the 'combined efficacy of a pair of winged steeds and a charioteer' (*ξυμφύτῳ δυνάμει ὑποπτέρου ζεύγους τε καὶ ἡνίοχου*). One horse is of generous breed, the other the reverse, corresponding, doubtless, to the 'passionate' and 'appetent' principles, τὸ θυμικόν and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν; while the charioteer answers to the 'reasoning' principle, τὸ λογιστικόν. The comparison in the text is roughly drawn, and is merely incidental.—The word *σφάλλεται* (lit. 'stumbles') is designedly chosen from the language of the 'race-course,' to maintain metaphorically the general sense of the simile.

τῆς διανοίας here = τοῦ νοῦ, which is avoided, apparently for rhythmical reasons. At the beginning of

the sentence the writer refuses to use ἡ διάνοια instead of ὁ νοῦς, probably because ἡ διάνοια ὑπ' οἴνου would involve a *hiatus*.

ὑπ' οἴνου is Schneider's emendation of ὑπὸ οἴνου, which is found in MSS.

ἀθάνατα—ἀπολαύειν.] Cf. § 9. n. The nom. μεγάλῳ ψυχος is used, because the 'subject' of εἶναι is the same as the subject of φρόνει, otherwise an acc. would have been required. Cf. Thuc. IV. 28, Κλέων οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνον (Νικίαν) στρατηγεῖν. Madv. *Syn.* § 160.

33. πράττουσι... προσεξημίωσε.] On the interchange of pres. and aor. see § 6. n. By αὕτη is meant ἀπαιδευσία.

ὧν... ἐλύπησαν, τούτων.] *i. e.* τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔδοσαν τούτων, ἃ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλύπησαν. 'Vengeance for the pain which they have inflicted' (Madv. *Syn.* § 27 a).—Attraction takes place, as here, even when the demonstrative is expressed after the relative clause. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* II. 1, 25, οἷς (for ἃ) ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐργάζωνται, τούτοις σὺ χρήσῃ. Madv. *Syn.* § 103.

34. βουλευόμενος, κ. τ. λ.] *i. e.* 'when deliberating make the past an example for the future.' *Respicere*,

μελλόντων· τὸ γὰρ ἀφανὲς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ταχίστην ἔχει τὴν διάγνωσιν. Βουλευέου μὲν βραδέως, ἐπιτέλει δὲ ταχέως τὰ δόξαντα. Ἡγοῦ κράτιστον εἶναι παρὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν εὐτυχίαν, παρὰ δ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εὐβουλίαν. Περὶ ὧν ἂν αἰσχυρὴν παρρησιάσασθαι, βούλη δέ τισι τῶν φίλων ἀνακοινώσασθαι, χρῶ τοῖς λόγοις ὡς περὶ ἄλλοτρίου τοῦ πράγματος· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἐκείνων τε διάνοιαν αἰσθήσει καὶ σεαυτοῦ οὐ καταφανῇ ποιήσεις. "Όταν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ μέλλης τιμὴ συμβούλῃ χρῆσθαι, σκόπει πρῶτον πῶς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διώκησεν· ὁ γὰρ κακῶς διανοηθεὶς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων οὐδέποτε καλῶς βουλευσεται περὶ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων. Οὕτω δ' ἂν μάλιστα βουλευεσθαι παροξυνθείης, εἰ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀβουλίας ἐπιβλέψειας· καὶ γὰρ τῆς ὑγιείας πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχομεν, ὅταν τὰς λύπας τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἀναμνησθῶμεν.

asprice, prospice. Cf. Isocr. *ad Nicocl.* § 35, ἂν τὰ παρεληλυθότα μνημονεύης, ἀμεινον περὶ τῶν μελλόντων βουλευεῖσαι. These passages are, I believe, the groundwork of a more elaborate sentiment, attributed to Isocr. by Stobaeus (*Flor.* I. 45), Ἰσοκράτης εἶπεν ὅτι τὸν χρηστὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρα δεῖ τῶν μὲν προγεγενημένων μνησθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐνεστώτα πράττειν, περὶ δὲ τῶν μελλόντων φυλάττεσθαι. Almost the same words are elsewhere ascribed to Bias (Orelli, *Orusc. Mor.* I. 182).

τὸ γὰρ ἀφανὲς κ.τ.λ.] From Cleobulus(?) quoted by Stob. *Flor.* III. 31, τὰ ἀφανῆ τοῖς φανοῦς τεκμαίρου.

βουλ. βραδέως κ.τ.λ.] Cf. the maxim of Bias (Stob. *Flor.* III. 30), βραδέως ἐγγχεῖρι τοῖς παττομένοισι, ἐγγχειρήσας δὲ πρᾶττε βεβαίως.

παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐτ.] Some of the MSS. have τοῦ θεοῦ, an alteration which involves a *hiatus*, and is probably due to Christian transcribers who were naturally sensitive on the point of polytheism. Similarly § 16, τὸν μὲν θεὸν φοβοῦ for τοὺς μὲν θεούς, § 45, τῷ θεῷ for

τοῖς θεοῖς.

περὶ ἄλλοτρ. τοῦ πρ.] τοῦ πράγματος=δ' ἂν αἰσχυρὴν παρρησιάσασθαι; and ἄλλοτρίον has a predicative force. Schneider's correction ἄλλοτρίου του (=τινός) πράγματος is ingenious but unnecessary.

35. ὅταν—ἄλλοτρίων.] It was on a similar principle that the discord of the Milesians was pacified by the Parians (Hdt. v. 28, 29). The Parians explored the district, noted down the names of those whose private property was most carefully cultivated, and proposed that the public affairs of Miletus should be entrusted to them, δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὕτω δὴ σφας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ τῶν σφετέρων.

οὕτω δ'—ἀναμνησθῶμεν.] Imitated by Agapetus (fl. 527 A.D. *ad Justinian. adhort.* 25), βουλευέου μὲν τὰ πρακτέα βραδέως, ἐκτέλει δὲ τὰ κριθέντα σπουδαίως. ἐπεὶ λίαν ἐστὶ σφαλερὸν τὸ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπερίσκεπτον. εἰ γὰρ τὰ ἐξ ἀβουλίας τις ἐννοήσῃ κακά, τότε γινώσκειται καλῶς τῆς εὐβουλίας τὰ χρήσιμα, ὡς καὶ ὑγιείας τὴν χάριν, μετὰ τὴν πείραν τῆς νόσου.

36 Μιμοῦ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἦθη καὶ δώκε τὰ ἐκείνων ἐπι- 10
τηδεύματα· δόξεις γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ζηλοῦν,
ὥστε σοι συμβήσεται παρὰ τε τῷ πλήθει μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμεῖν
καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίαν βεβαιωτέραν ἔχειν. Πείθου
μὲν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων κειμένοις, ἰσχυ-

36. μιμοῦ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἦθη.] Lange appeals emphatically to this precept to prove that Isocrates the Athenian could not have written this *Ep.* It is hard to see any reason why the acknowledged writer of the treatise addressed to Nicocles, the Cyprian king, and of the speech on the duties of his subjects, both of which are saturated with maxims suited to a monarchy, could not have written the passage now before us. The writer immediately afterwards admits the propriety of courting the populace, if one is living under a democracy, and expresses himself in language which is perfectly proper for an Athenian citizen of moderate views. His position with reference to the treatise *ad Nicoclem* is clearly brought out in a slightly coloured passage, written for Athenian readers, *de Perm.* § 70, *φανήσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευθέρως καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίως διειλεγμένος... ὅπου δὲ βασιλεῖ διαλεγόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς λόγους ἐποίησάμην, ἥπου τοῖς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευομένοις σφόδρ' ἂν παρακελευσάμην τὸ πλῆθος θεραπεύειν.*

βεβαιωτέραν.] Cobet (*var. lect.* p. 155) quotes this passage and says, '*quia non dicitur ἔχω βέβαιον τι sed βεβαίως, necessarium est βεβαιότερον (adv. compar.). contra rectissime dicitur ἔχειν τινὰ βέβαιον φίλον, σύμμαχον, ἐραστὴν.*' A real difference, however, may be noticed between such phrases as *κτῆματα βεβαίως ἔχω* and *κτῆματα βέβαια ἔχω*. Both these formulae of expression are necessary, and actually exist in passages which are too numerous to be rashly altered. Schneider quotes Thuc. i. 32, *τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔχουσι*. Dem. *Olynth.* ii. 10, *δύναμιν βεβαίαν κτήσασθαι*. *Paneg.* § 173, *εὐρήνην βε-*

βαίαν ἀγαγεῖν, as instances of the second formula; and Plut. *Mor.* p. 93 B, *μηδέπω μίαν φίλιαν κεκτημένοι βεβαίως*. Isocr. *Archid.* § 39, *βεβαίως τὴν εἰρήνην ἄξομεν*, as examples of the first. Both the forms are in use, and in their proper places, are equally correct: it is therefore unnecessary, in this case, to follow Cobet, who is often too dogmatic. Much however, with regard to Attic usage, &c., may be learnt from his *variae* and his *novae lectiones*, as the very next note may help to testify.

ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων κειμένοις.] *κείμεαι* is the only proper perf. pass. of *τίθημι*. *τέθειμαι* is *pass.* in form, and *mid.* in sense. The instances of the use of *τέθειμαι* as a *pass.*, though common in Lucian and late writers, are (in classical Greek) very few and precarious. Cobet (*var. lect.* p. 311), says, '*Athenienses, et antea Iones omnes, pro τέθειμαι constanter κείμεαι dicebant. τίθεναι νόμον et ὁ νόμος κείται, περιτίθεναι στέφανον τῇ κεφαλῇ et ὁ στέφανος τῇ κεφαλῇ περικείται, προτιθέναι νεκρὸν et ὁ νεκρὸς πρόκειται, sic. ἀνακείται τὰ ἀναθήματα, τὸ σύνθημα συγκείται, εὖ διακείσθαι et εὖ διατιθέναι et in ceteris omnibus, quod quis non sexcenties inter legendum vidit? Nonnumquam ὑπὸ additur, ut in Isaco Orat.* iii. 32, *εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κείμενον (nomen a patre impositum).*'

The latter part of this lucid statement is illustrated by the use of *ὑπὸ* in the present passage, and the general principle is clearly seen in Plato, *Theaet.* p. 177 D, *ἂν ὁ θῆται πόλις δόξαντα αὐτῇ, ταῦτα καὶ ἔστι δίκαια τῇ θεμένῃ, ἥωσπερ ἂν κέηται. τίθημι* in short is a defective vb. and *δορροῦς κείμεαι* as its

ρότατον μέντοι νόμον ἡγοῦ τὸν ἐκείνων τρόπον. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευόμενον τὸ πλήθος δεῖ θεραπεύειν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἐν μοναρχίᾳ κατοικοῦντα τὸν βασιλέα προσήκει θαυμάζειν.

- 37 Εἰς ἀρχὴν κατασταθεὶς μηδενὶ χρῶ πονηρῷ πρὸς τὰς διοικήσεις· ὧν γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀμάρτη, σοὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀναθήσουσιν. Ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελειῶν ἀπαλλάττου μη πλουσιώτερος ἀλλ' ἐνδοξότερος· πολλῶν γὰρ χρημάτων κρείττων ὁ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔπαινος.

Μηδενὶ πονηρῷ πράγματι μήτε παρίστασο μήτε συνηγόρει· δόξεις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τοιαῦτα ποάττειν, οἷ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράττουσι βοηθῇς.

- 38 Παρασκεύαζε σεαυτὸν πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν δύνασθαι, ἀνέχου

perf. pass. The same principle is widely spread in the case of other defective verbs. Lists are given, in ordinary school grammars, of many of these, *e.g.* αἰρέω, λαμβάνω, φέρω, but the verb τύπτω is in the same grammars conjugated in full, without any warning that τύπτω (= *verbero* or *vulnero*), ἐτυπτον, τυπτήσω (= *verberabo*), τύπτομαι (= *verbo* or *vulneror*), and ἐτυπτόμην (pass.) are the only parts used by writers of Attic prose. The aor. act. is really ἐπάταξα, pass. ἐπλήγην [*e.g.* Lysias, iv. (περὶ τραύματος) § 15, πότερον ἐπλήγην ἢ ἐπάταξα.] and amongst other parts that are borrowed we have πέπληγα, πέπληγμαι, πεπλήξομαι, πληγήσομαι (Cobet, *var. lect.* 330—343, and Veitch, *Gk. verbs*). The speech of Dem. in *Conon*, in a case of 'assault and battery,' forms a good study on this point. We there find the forms τύπτειν, ἐτυπτον, τυπτόμενον (with the verbal τυπτήτεος), also πατάξαντι, πατάξει, ἐπλήγην (= *vulneratus sum*) and πληγὰς ἐνέτειναν ἔμολ (*i.g.* *verulamini*), but in the *Argument* to the speech, written by a late Scholiast, we have τετυπτήσθαι, instead of the usual phrase πληγὰς εἰληφέναι. νόμον...τρόπον.] Cf. § 11, νόμον

τὸν ἐκείνων τρόπον ἡγησάμενον. The contrast of the two words νόμον...τρόπον is possible suggested by their 'assonance.' In both, 'the two vowels correspond, and the final consonants coincide. (Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 394, and Mr Green's note.)

ὥσπερ—θαυμάζειν.] Obs. the highly artificial parallelism of this sentence.

37. εἰς ἀρχὴν—ἀναθήσουσι.] A precept almost identical with this in expression is elsewhere wrongly attributed to Bias (ap. Orelli *Opusc. Mor.* i. 162). Cf. Cic. *ad Quint. frat.* i. 1, § 10.

ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν κ.τ.λ.] A noteworthy example of this was Cato's honest discharge of his dishonest mission to Cyprus, B.C. 58—56 (Plut. *Cato*, 34—39).

οἷ' ἄν.] v. Table of var. readings.

38. πλεονεκτεῖν.] (Cf. πλεονεκτοῦσι, § 39) = 'to gain an advantage,' a *vox media* = lit. 'to have or claim more than another,' sometimes used in a comparatively good sense, *e.g.* Plato, *Gorg.* 491 A (περὶ τίνων ὁ κρείττων τε καὶ φρονιμώτερος πλεόν ἔχων δικαίως πλεονεκτεῖ; = 'has a right to a larger share;') but almost always in a bad sense, 'to be greedy and grasping;') (ισομοιρῆσαι,

δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἔχων, ἵνα δοκῇς ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς δικαιοσύνης μὴ δι'
 39 ἀσθένειαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἐπιείκειαν. Μᾶλλον ἀποδέχου δικαίαν
 πενίαν ἢ πλοῦτον ἄδικον· τοσούτῳ γὰρ κρείττων δικαιοσύνη δ
 χρημάτων, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν ζῶντας μόνον ὠφελεῖ, ἡ δὲ καὶ τε-
 λευτήσασι δόξαν παρασκευάζει, καὶ κείνων μὲν τοῖς φαύλοις
 μέτεστι, τούτου δὲ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς ἀδύνατον μεταλαβεῖν.
 Μηδένα ζήλου τῶν ἐξ ἀδικίας κερδαινόντων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 ἀποδέχου τοὺς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ζημιωθέντας· οἱ γὰρ δίκαιοι

Paneg. § 17. n.). Isocr. himself raises a protest against this low meaning of πλεονεκτεῖν, πλεονεξία, πλεονεκτικός, in an interesting passage, *de Perm.* §§ 281—284. The passage is too long to quote *in extenso*, the following extracts may suffice: εἰ τις ὑπολαμβάνει τοὺς ἀποστεροῦντας ἢ παραλογιζομένους ἢ κακὸν τι ποιοῦντας πλεονεκτεῖν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν... οὐδὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἔνιοι τινες ἐτι χρώνται κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων... τοὺς δὲ ταῖς κακοηθείαις καὶ ταῖς κακουργίαις χρωμένους, καὶ μικρὰ μὲν λαμβάνοντας, πονηρὰν δὲ δόξαν κτωμένους, πλεονεκτικούς νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς ὀσιωτάτους καὶ δικαιοτάτους, οἱ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν κακῶν πλεονεκτοῦσι.

ἵνα δοκῇς—ἐπιείκειαν.] Lit. 'that men may see that you are aiming at justice, *not* because of weakness, but because of equity,' *i.e.* if you act justly, when too weak to commit injustice, men will not give you credit for your justice. You must be strong enough to overpower others, and if you are then content with what you have, men will believe in your really equitable character.—μὴ ὑπ' ἀσθενείας. Cf. Aristotle's libel on humanity (*Rhet.* II. 5, 8), ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀδικοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν δύνωνται. The best comment, however, on this maxim is contained in a fine fragment of Philemon (one of the dramatists of the New Comedy,

fl. 300 B.C.) beginning thus: ἀνὴρ δίκαιός ἐστιν οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἀδικῶν—ἀλλ' ὅστις ἀδικεῖν δυνάμενος μὴ βούλεται, κ.τ.λ.

39. μᾶλλον—μεταλαβεῖν.] Cf. Theognis, 144 sqq. βούλεο δ' εὐσεβέως ὀλλογῶσι σὺν χρήμασιν οἰκεῖν | ἢ πλουτεῖν ἀδικῶς χρήματα πασσάμενος... χρήματα μὲν δαίμων καὶ παγκάκῳ ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν, κ.τ.λ.

Coray wishes to insert καὶ before τοῖς φαύλοις; this is unnecessary, although Isocr., in a similar passage, *ad Nicocl.* § 32, has τὰ μὲν (χρήματα) καὶ φαῦλοις πέρεστι.

δικαίαν πενίαν(πλοῦτον ἄδικον.) For the inverse parallelism or Chiasmus see § 7. n.

ἡ δὲ.] v. Table of var. readings.

τούτου.] *Neut.* although it refers to fem. δικαιοσύνη. Similarly, in contrasting ἀρετὴ and χρήματα, Solon, fr. 16 (ap. Schn.), says, οὐ διαμειψόμεθα | τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἐμπεδον αἰεὶ, | χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἔχει. See further, *Madv. Syn.* § 99 a.

μοχθηροῖς.] On the two meanings of μοχθηρός, &c. see § 22, ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς. n.

κερδαινόντων) (ζημιωθέντας.] 'Gainers' ('losers.' These words are constantly opposed to one another: and so also are the corresponding nouns κέρδος and ζημία. Cf. the warning in Isocr. *Nicocl.* § 50, μὴ τὸ μὲν λαβεῖν κέρδος εἶναι νομίζετε, τὸ δ' ἀναλῶσαι ζημίαν, and esp. Plato, *Hippiarchus*, 226 E, κέρδος δὲ λέγεται ἐναντίον τῇ ζημίᾳ; "Ἐγωγε.

τῶν ἀδίκων εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐλπίσι γε σπουδαίαις ὑπερέχουσιν.

- 40 Πάντων μὲν ἐπιμελοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν σαυτοῦ φρόνησιν ἄσκει· μέγιστον γὰρ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ νοῦς ἀγαθὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σώματι. Πειρῶ τῷ μὲν σώματι εἶναι 1: φιλόπονος, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ φιλόσοφος, ἵνα τῷ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖν δύνῃ τὰ δόξαντα, τῇ δὲ προορᾶν ἐπίστη τὰ συμφέροντα.

- 41 Πάν ὅ τι ἂν μέλλῃς εἶναι, πρότερον ἐπισκόπῃ τῇ γνώμῃ· πολλοῖς γὰρ ἡ γλῶττα προτρέχει τῆς διανοίας. δύο ποιοῦ β καιροὺς τοῦ λέγειν, ἡ περὶ ὧν οἶσθα σαφῶς, ἡ περὶ ὧν ἀναγ-

ἀλλ' οὖν—ὑπερέχουσιν.] 'At any rate in good *hopes* they surpass them.' By ἐλπίδες σπουδαίαι, Isocr. means not only good hopes in the present life, but especially hopes of happiness in an after-world. Cf. *Paneg.* § 28. n.

This passage is the foundation of an apophthegm attributed to Isocr. (*Αῤορή.* 8, ed. Bens.), ἐρωτηθεὶς, τίνοι οἱ φιλόπονοι τῶν βιβλίων διαφέρουσιν, εἶπεν, ὥς οἱ εὐσεβεῖς τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς. A similar saying is assigned to Chilo (Diog. Laert. I. § 69), ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνοι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευμένων, εἶφη, ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς.

40. μέγιστον—σώματι.] 'The greatest thing in the smallest compass is a good mind in a man's body.' Stobaeus (*Flor.* III. 56) quotes the following apophthegm, Περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί μέγιστον ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ, εἶπε, φρένες ἀγαθαὶ ἐν σώματι ἀνθρώπου. The saying has the air of a late fabrication; but, if genuine, is doubtless the source of the present passage.

πειρῶ—συμφέροντα.] 'Endeavour in your body to love labour, and in your mind to love wisdom; that you may have power to carry out your will with the former, and knowledge to foresee your interests with the latter.' The natural order of the last two clauses is inverted; it would be more natural to speak of foresight (*προορᾶν*) first, and ac-

complishment (*ἐπιτελεῖν*) second. But Isocr. prefers sacrificing this order to the desire of bringing the importance of cultivating the mind into a position of slightly stronger emphasis.

τῷ σώματι φιλόπονος...ἵνα κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Milton (*Apol. for Smectymnius*), speaking of himself, 'With useful and generous labours preserving the bodies health and hardiness, to render lightness, cleare and not lumpish, obedience to the minde, &c.

σώματι εἶναι.] Another reading is *σῶμα εἶναι*, but the reading in the text has far better authority. Observe the *hiatus* (which might be avoided by transposing *φιλόπονος* and *εἶναι*) and cf. § 49, *παντὶ ἐλαττομένους*. Benseler (in 1832, *αἱ Αῤορή.* p. 396) says of these two instances, 'corrigenda esse censem, nisi cum Baiteiro statuerem, hanc orationem non esse ab Isocrate ita, uti eam nunc habemus, profectam.'

41. ἡ γλῶττα προτρέχει τῆς διανοίας.] Borrowed from Chilo (quoted by Stob. *Flor.* III. 79, and Diog. Laert. I. 70), ἡ γλῶσσά σου μὴ προτρέχῃ τοῦ νοῦ. For the metaphor *προτρέχει* cf. the saying of Socrates, κρείττον ἐστὶ τῷ ποδὶ ὀλισθαίνειν ἢ τῇ γλώσσῃ (Orelli, *Orusc. Mor.* I. 26), and Hom. *Il.* III. 213, ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγορεύειν.

λέγειν...εἰπεῖν.] The meaning of the two words is almost identical.

καὶ οὐκ εἰπεῖν. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ μόνοις ὁ λόγος τῆς συγῆς κρείττων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄμεινον συγᾶν ἢ λέγειν.

- 42 Νόμιζε μὴδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιον· οὕτω γὰρ οὐτ' εὐτυχῶν ἔσει περιχαρὴς οὔτε δυστυχῶν περίλυπος. Χαῖρε μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, λυποῦ δὲ μετριῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις τῶν κακῶν, γίγνου δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴδ' ἐν ἐτέροις ὧν κατὰ δῆλος ἄτοπον γὰρ τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν ἐν

Isocr. constantly uses them for variety of expression. Cf. *Paneg.* §§ 10, 11, *de Perm.* § 272, ἔχω μὲν εἰπεῖν, ὀκνῶ δὲ λέγειν. §§ 292, 293, δεινὸν λέγειν, followed soon after by δεινὸς εἰπεῖν (the latter formula being somewhat rare, but found in Dem. in *Androl.* § 31, *adv. Lept.* § 150, *de Symmor.* § 8). *Panath.* § 262, ἀπλήστως διακείμενος... πρὸς τὸ λέγειν καὶ πᾶλλ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχω, &c. Cf. also Dem. *Phil.* II. § 11, ταῦθ' ἂ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται.

συγῆς κρείττων.] For the form of the precept cf. Eurip. ἢ λέγει τι συγῆς κρείττων ἢ συγῆν ἔχε. Stobaeus (*Flor.* 34, 6) quotes this passage with the var. *σιωπῆς*. A distinction, however, may generally be drawn between *συγῆ* and *σιωπῆ*, parallel to that which usually subsists between *σιγᾶν* (=silere, to remain silent) and *σιωπᾶν* (=tacere, to become silent). Isocr. is telling Dem. when he is to keep silence; not, when he is to cease talking.

42. μὴδὲν—βέβαιον.] The sentiment is too common to need much illustration. Menander has the line βέβαιον οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐν θηγῶ βίῳ, and Marcus Antoninus (the Stoic Emperor) has an epigrammatic but gloomy passage to the same effect (*Comm.* II. 17). The greater part of this section is imitated by Basil I. (Emperor of the East, A.D. 867—886), who was familiar with the writings of Isocr. (v. *Introd. ad Dem.*): ἴσθι τέκνον ἐμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν ὁ βίος οὗτος ἔχει τὸ στάσιμον οὐδὲ τὸ βέβαιον ἢ ἀμετάβλητον. ἄλλοτε γὰρ

ἄλλως ἀμείβει τὰ πράγματα καὶ τροχοῦ δίκην κυλιόμενον τὰ μὲν ἄνω φέρεται κάτω, τὰ δὲ κάτω φέρεται ἄνω. διὸ μῆτε εὐτυχίας ἐπαίρου μῆτε ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις καταφέρου, ἀλλ' ἔσο κατ' ἄμφω σταθερὸς καὶ ἀμετάπτωτος. (*Exhort. ad Leon. filium*, 38.)

εὐτυχῶν(δυστυχῶν.) An instance of ἀντίθεσις and ὁμοιοτέλετον, just as περιχαρὴς(περίλυπος) is an instance of ἀντίθεσις and ὁμοιοκἀταρκτον. v. *Introd. on Style*.

γίγνου...κατὰ δῆλος.] i. e. Whether in sorrow or in joy, in neither case betray your feelings to other persons. Lit. 'Do not become conspicuous as being in *either* state.' The sense is not 'make it manifest that you are in neither condition.' ὧν comes in constr. not before, but after κατὰ δῆλος. Cf. Plato, *Apol.* p. 23, κατὰ δῆλοι γίνονται προσποιούμενοι μὲν εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδέν. *Madv. Synl.* § 177 b.—Cf. Theognis, 1159, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλὸς | τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακόν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δῆλος ὄμωσ.—For μὴδ' ἐν ἐτέροις cf. Dem. *adv. Callip.* § 2, μὴδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων τὴν γνώμην γενόμενοι.

ἄτοπον γάρ...] In the speech written for the king of Cyprus we have an *apparently* contradictory precept (*Nicochl.* § 52), μὴδὲν ἀποκρύπτεσθε μήθ' ὧν κέκτησθε μήθ' ὧν ποιεῖτε μήθ' ὧν μέλλετε πράττειν. There the king is telling his subjects to conceal nothing from *him*; here the case is different. Even if the discrepancy were real, Isocr. is not the man to be constantly consistent with himself; witness the passage

ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀποκρύπτειν, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν φανεράν ἔχοντα
 43 περιπατεῖν. Μᾶλλον εὐλαβοῦ ψόγον ἢ κίνδυνον· δεῖ γὰρ
 εἶναι φοβεράν τοῖς μὲν φαύλοις τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, τοῖς
 δὲ σπουδαίοις τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀδοξίαν. Μάλιστα μὲν πειρῶ
 ζῆν κατὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ἐὰν δέ ποτέ σοι συμβῇ κινδυνεύ-
 ει, ζῆται τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου σωτηρίαν μετὰ καλῆς δόξης,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ μετ' αἰσχροῦς φήμης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τελευτῆσαι πάν-
 των ἢ πεπρωμένη κατέκρινε, τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἴδιον δ
 τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀπένειμεν.

44 (έ.) Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης, εἰ πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ

from *Panath.* § 172, quoted *Paneg.* § 58. n.

ταῖς οἰκίαις.] Pl. preferred, possibly because ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀποκρ., which is more natural, would contain a *hiatus*.

43. τοῖς μὲν φαύλοις κ. τ. λ.] Observe the parallelism. For φαύ-
 λος(σπουδαίος see § 1. n.

μάλιστα μὲν...ἐὰν δέ ποτε.] Cf. § 32. For the sense cf. *ad Nicocl.* § 36, μάλιστα μὲν πειρῶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει διαφυλάττειν· ἦν δ' ἀναγκασθῆς κινδυνεύειν, αἰροῦ τεθνάναι καλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς.

ἀλλὰ μὴ.] Cf. § 2. n. *Paneg.* § 40, μετὰ λόγου καὶ μὴ μετὰ βίας. n.

τελευτῆσαι ... ἀποθανεῖν.] Used partly for variety: further, καλῶς τελευτῆσαι ἴδιον would involve *hiatus*, and the use of ἀποθανεῖν avoids it.

§§ 44—52. *We now reach the Epilogue. Its general sense may be summed up as follows.*

§ 44. *Many of these precepts are, I am well aware, unsuitable to your present age: but you will one day have hard work to find a faithful counsellor, and this treatise will then serve as a store-house of moral maxims.* 45. *I trust I shall not be disappointed in my present opinion of you.* 46. *Strive to do well, for this will yield a harvest of enduring delight.* 47. *Let your motto be, 'pains now, pleasures anon,' and*

not 'pleasure now and pain hereafter.' 48, 49. *Remember that the bad may do as they please; the good cannot neglect virtue, and that because they have many to rebuke them, if they are inconsistent. Much is expected of you; be not traitor to your high privileges.* 50. *You may tell the manner in which Heaven regards the good and the bad, from the legends of the virtue of Hercules and the vice of Tantalus—from the boon of immortality conferred on the first and the sore punishment inflicted on the second.* 51. *With such instances before us, we should eagerly strive after true nobility, and not only remain steadfast to the precepts here given, but read the best writings of others also.* 52. *Like the bee, we must range everywhere and gather precious stores from every quarter; for, even after all is done, 'tis hard enough to over-master the failings of humanity.*

44. εἰ...οὐ...πρέπει.] μὴ is more common after θαυμάζω εἰ..., e.g. *Isocr. de Pace*, § 12, θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων εἰ μὴ κέτι μνημονεύουσι καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, εἰ μὴ δὲνός ἀκηκόασι, κ.τ.λ. *Aeginet.* § 26, οὐκ ἐκείνων ἄξιον θαυμάζειν εἰ μὴ παρόντων. In the present passage the meaning of εἰ...οὐ...πρέπει is very nearly—that of οὐ...οὐ...πρέπει. The sentence εἰ...πρέπει is not a conditional, but an object-sentence, and therefore οὐ is perfectly natural. The writer is certain that the pre-

πρέπει σοι πρὸς τὴν νῦν παρούσαν ἡλικίαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμὲ τοῦτο διέλαθεν· ἀλλὰ προειλόμην διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας ἅμα τοῦ τε παρόντος βίου συμβουλίαν ἐξευεγκεῖν καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου παράγγελμα καταλιπεῖν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τούτων χρεῖαν ῥαδίως εἰδήσεις, τὸν δὲ μετ' εὐνοίας συμβουλευόντα χαλεπῶς εὐρήσεις. ὅπως οὖν μὴ παρ' ἐτέρου εἰ ταῖς λοιπὰς ζητῆς, ἀλλ' ἐντεύθεν ὥσπερ ἐκ ταμιείου προφέρης, ᾗθηθην δεῖν μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν ὃν ἔχω σοι συμβουλευεῖν.

- 45 Πολλὴν δ' ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν σχοίην, εἰ μὴ διαμάρτοιμι τῆς δόξης ἧς ἔχων περὶ σοῦ τυγχάνω. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ¹² τοὺς πλείστους εὐρήσομεν, ὥσπερ τῶν σιτίων τοῖς ἰδίους μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις χαίροντας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς συνεξαμαρτάνουσι πλησιάζοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς νοουθετούσι. σὲ δὲ νομίζω τοῦναντίον τούτων ἐγνωκέναι, τεκμηρίω

cepts are not suitable, and therefore does not use μή. v. *Madv. Synt.* § 194 c.

ἀλλὰ προειλόμην κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'but I deliberately preferred, by means of the same treatise, not only to bring forward advice for your present life, but also to leave you instructions for the time to come.' *πραγματεία* is best translated 'treatise' in this passage. Strictly speaking, the meaning of the word here lies between 'treatise' and 'business,' just as in *Philipp.* § 7, *διαδοθέντος τοῦ λόγου... έντος δ' οὖν ἐμοῦ περὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην, ἐφῆντε ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην πρὶν ἐξεργασθῆναι τὸν λόγον. παράγγελμα* is often used as a military term = 'marching-orders,' or 'watchword,' either of which senses would help to illustrate this passage.

τὴν μὲν γὰρ τ. χρεῖαν κ.τ.λ.] 'For you will easily know your need of such precepts; but you will have difficulty in finding one who is ready to counsel you with good-will.' *χρεῖα* here means either (1) 'use,' 'advantage,' or (2) 'need,' 'necessity.' Wolf prefers, (1) [= πῶς καὶ πότε χρὴ τοῖς χρῆσθαι], but (2) harmonizes better with the latter half

of the sentence. On *εἰδήσεις* || *εὐρήσεις* cf. § 16, *συνεἰδήσεις*. n.

ζητῆς.] After ᾗθηθην, a principal verb of past time, the opt. would be more regular than the subj. But when the sentence is 'so put as not to form part of a representation belonging to the past,' the subj. is often preferred. *Madv. Synt.* § 131 b. (e.g. *Dem. in Conon.* § 17, *οἱ νόμοι καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας προφάσεις ὅπως μὴ μείζους γίνωνται προείδοντο*). See also esp. Goodwin's *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 44, 2.

ὥσπερ ἐκ ταμιείου.] ἡ μεταφορά ... ἀπὸ τῶν ἐδωδίων. (Coray.)

45. ὥσπερ τῶν σιτίων τοῖς ἰδί-
στοις κ.τ.λ.] Cf. § 35. *ad Nicocl.* § 45.
συνεξαμαρτάνοντες.) (νοουθετούν-
τες.) A similar contrast may be observed in the general meaning of § 30, *πρὸς τὸ φανότατον χαρίζομενους* (πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπεχθανομένους. *ad Nicocl.* § 42, *συνεξαμαρτάνουσιν*) (ἀποτρέπονται). This meaning of *νοουθετεῖν*, 'to admonish a person for his good,' is well brought out in *Pang.* § 130. For the sense cf. also *ad Nicocl.* § 28, *πιστοὺς ἡγοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἅπαν ὅτι ἂν λέγῃς ἢ ποιῇς ἐπαυνοῦντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοῖς ἀμαρτανουμένοις ἐπιτιμῶντας*, and *Panath.* §§ 271-2.

χρωμενος τῇ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν φιλοπονίᾳ· τον γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα πρᾶττειν ἐπιτάττοντα, τοῦτον εἰκὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν παρακαλοῦντας ἀποδέ-
 46 χεσθαι. Μάλιστα δ' ἂν παροξυνθείης ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, εἰ καταμάθοις, ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐκ τούτων μάλιστα γνησίως ἔχομεν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ῥαθυμείν καὶ τὰς πλησμονὰς ἀγαπᾶν εὐθὺς αἱ λῦπαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παραπεπτήγασι, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν φιλοπονεῖν καὶ σωφρόνως τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον οἰκονομεῖν αἰετὰς τέρψεις εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ βεβαιότερας

φιλοπονία.] One of the apophthegms of Isocr. (ap. Benseler, II. 277) is recorded as follows: *ιδῶν νεανίαν φιλοπονοῦντα, ἔφη, κάλλιστον ὄψον τῷ γήρατι* (= Att. γῆρα) *ἀρτύει.*

παρακαλοῦντας.] This is not the fut. part. (= *παρακαλέσοντας*) but the pres. According to Benseler the only instance in Isocr. of the 'Attic future' of verbs in *έω* is *διατελοῦμεν* (*Archid.* § 87), which is the reading of the Codex Urbinas; the Ambrosian and Laurentine MSS. having *διατελέσομεν*, which Benseler adopts. Another instance occurs in *Τραπεζ.* (a speech which Bens. rejects), § 56, *συκοφαντήσων καὶ...ἐγκαλῶν.* (Rost ap. Bremi Isocr. p. 206.) Just as in this last passage *ἐγκαλῶν* is almost certainly fut. because *συκοφαντήσων* is fut., similarly *παρακαλοῦντας* is almost certainly pres. because *ἐπιτάττοντα* is pres. The uniformity of the sentence is thus preserved.—For this pres. part. in the sense of 'ready or likely to do a thing,' cf. § 30, *χαριζομένους καὶ ἀπεχθανομένους*, § 33, *ἀπαγγέλλοντας*, § 44, *συμβουλευόντα.*

46. **μάλιστα κ.τ.λ.]** 'Now, you would especially be incited to reach forward to good deeds, if you clearly saw that the pleasures which we win from these sources are won in a specially genuine manner (or most genuinely).'

μ., δ' ἂν παροξυνθείης...εἰ καταμάθοις. For this common form of a conditional sentence see Madv. *Synt.*

§ 135, and Mr Thring's *Manual of Mood Constr.* p. 17. The following lines from Soph. *Elect.* will supply easy instances of various hypothetical sentences, 376-7, 394, 413, 430, 547-8, 554, 557, 583, 604. *ἐν μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.]* 'For while, in the case of idleness and love of surfeit, pains are planted by the very side of pleasures, yet the loving labour spent on virtue, and the prudent conduct of one's life, ever yield delights that are pure and more lasting.' *παραπεπτήγασι*, are 'bound up with.' (Lidd. and Sc.). The pleasure is no sooner over than pain follows *at once* (*εὐθύς*).

For the sense and expression Schn. quotes Sextus Empiricus (a sceptic of the first half of the 3rd cent. A. D.), *Hyrotyp.* § 24, *πάσῃ ἡδονῇ παραπέπηγεν ἀλγηδών.*—In the *Phaedo* of Plato, p. 60 B, Socrates speaks to this effect: 'How strange is the nature of pleasure (τὸ ἡδύ) in regard to that which seems to be its very opposite—pain (τὸ λυπηρόν); in that the two are unwilling to be present to a man at once, but if he pursue the one and take it, he is pretty nearly compelled to take the other also, as if the two, distinct as they are, were yet, at one end, closely knit together (ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς συνημμένον ὄντε, i.e. 'twin and yet twain'). Menander (fragm. of *Plocium*) has ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἀγαθοῦ παραπέφυκε καὶ κακόν.

βίον οἰκονομεῖν.] Cf. § 5. n.

47 ἀποδίδωσι· κακέῃ μὲν πρότερον ἡσθέντες ὕστερον ἐλυπήθη- c

εἰλικρινείς.] The deriv. of this word (like that of *sincerus*) is much disputed. It is either from (1) ἔλη, ἔλη = 'the sun's warmth' or 'sunlight' [ἐλη· ἡλίου ἀλέα ἢ αὐγή. Timaeus, *Lex. Platon.*], and κρίνω; or from (2) εἶλω, to roll, and κρίνω, to discern. (1) gives the meaning, 'held up and judged by the sunlight,' 'transparent,' hence 'sincere,' 'truthful.' (2) produces the sense 'volubili agitatione secretum,' 'discerned by rolling or sifting,' hence 'sifted,' 'separated,' 'pure.' Or again, if we take the word εἶλη or ἔλη (= *grex, turma*), which is connected with εἶλω (*volvo*), we obtain a modification of (2). The primary meaning will then be 'parcelled off by itself' (εἰληθόν, λαθόν, *turmatim, gregatim*), 'distinct,' hence 'unsullied.' (1) is supported by Ruhnken and Hemsterhuis (ap. Timaei *Lex. v. ὑπ' αὐγᾶς*), and is still the popular deriv. (2) was proposed by Valckenaer, who is followed by Stallbaum (Plat. *Phaedo*, 66 A. n.), and others. (1) is poetic and elegant, but, I venture to think, untrue and indefensible. It is fair to state that the objection sometimes brought against (1), on the ground that εἶλη, ἔλη always mean the 'warmth' and not the 'light' of the sun, is considerably modified by the quotation, given above, from Timaeus. (2) in either of its forms is preferable, because the idea of 'separated,' 'unmixed,' 'pure,' is more consistent with the explanations of Hesychius and Suidas (= καθαρός, ἔσθλος, ἀμύγη); and still further, because that idea is more suitable to most passages in which the word is used, and esp. to the following: Plato, *Phaedo*, 66 A, αὐτῇ καθ' αὐτὴν εἰλικρινεῖ τῇ διανοίᾳ. 81 c, ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν εἶλη. *Symp.* 211 E, αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ἰδεῖν εἰλικρινές, καθαρόν, ἀμικτον. Xen. *Cyrop.* 8, 5, 14, διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῆ εἶναι ἕκαστα τὰ φύλα (cf. φυλοκρι-

νεῖν). To these, which have been quoted by others, I may add Plutarch *de EI in Delphis*, p. 393 C, τὸ δὲ ἐν εἰλικρινέσι καὶ καθαρὸν· ἐτέρου γὰρ μίξει πρὸς ἕτερον ὁ μiasμός... οὐκοῦν ἐν τε καὶ ἄκρατον αἶε τῷ ἀφάρτῳ καὶ καθαρῷ προσήκει. If der. (1) is adopted, the rough breathing will be necessary; if (2), the word will be written, as in the text, without the aspirate. (See further, Trench, *Synon.* § 86, and Wordsworth, Ellicott, and Lightfoot on *Philippians*, 1. 10).

εἰλικρινεῖς κ. βεβαιώτερας.] Obs. comparative coupled with positive. Bens. cites this collocation as part of his proof of the spuriousness of the Ep. ad Dem. Schn. points out, in reply, the propriety of the combination, on the ground that delight derived from pleasures is to a certain degree 'lasting' (βεβαία) [?], but not 'pure and unmixed' (εἰλικρινής); we may therefore say with perfect correctness that the delights derived from virtue are εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ βεβαιώτεραι. He then quotes Hom. *Od.* VIII. 187, δισκον μέλινα καὶ πάχετον, Plato, *de Legg.* I. p. 649 D, εὐτελῆ τε καὶ δνεστέραν, Tacitus, *Agricola*, 1, apud priores agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in apto erat. &c.

ἀποδίδωσι.] 'Yields a harvest,' 'yields a return,' lit. 'gives back.' In Aristot. *Rhet.* II. 7, 5, among the reasons, which shew the absence of real gratitude, we have ὅτι ἀπέδωκαν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔδωκαν (they merely gave back a favour). Lidd. and Scott quote the passage in the text with this explanation, 'ἀπ. τινα, c. Adj. to render or make so and so, like ἀποδίδωμι.' In all the passages of Isocr. that have come before me, it bears the meaning 'restore,' 'return,' 'repay;' (except *Callimach.* § 6, where εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπέδωσαν must mean 'they brought the matter before the Council,' 'detulerunt.') The sense gained by translating ἀπο-

σαν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ μετὰ τὰς λύπας τὰς ἡδονὰς ἔχομεν. ἐν
 πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐχ οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς μνημονεύομεν, ὥς
 τῆς τελευτῆς αἰσθησιν λαμβάνομεν· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τῶν
 48 περὶ τὸν βίον οὐ διὰ τὰ πράγματα ποιοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπο-
 μὲν φαύλοις ἐνδέχεται τὰ τυχόντα πράττειν· εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῦ
 βίου τοιαύτην πεποιήνται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις d
 οὐχ οἴοντε τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀμελεῖν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς
 ἐπιπλήττοντας. πάντες γὰρ μισοῦσιν οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς ἑξα-
 μαρτάνοντας ὥς τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς μὲν φήσαντας εἶναι, μηδὲν δὲ
 49 τῶν τυχόντων διαφέροντας, εἰκότως· ὅπου γὰρ τοὺς τῷ λόγῳ
 μόνον ψευδομένους ἀποδοκιμάζομεν, ἢ ποῦ γε τοὺς τῷ βίῳ

δίδωσι κ.τ.λ. as above, is rather more satisfactory, as it brings out the idea of *recompense* which pervades the whole context. In any case εἰλ. κ. βεβ. will be the predicate.

ἐλυνθήσαν.] This is the reading of the Cod. Urbinas and Cod. Scaphusiensis, and is followed by Benseler, Bekker, Dindorf, and Baiter and Sauppe prefer *ἐλυνθήθην*. The writer could hardly be so depreciatory to himself and Dem., as to include both among those who lived in 'idleness and love of surfeit,' and yet this must be involved in the use of *ἐλυνθήθην*, unless it is meant for a vague plural, including 'men in general.' The MS. authority for *ἐλυνθήσαν* is stronger, the sense produced is better; and lastly, the 1st pers. pl., which is found in some MSS., is easily accounted for by a desire to assimilate *ἐλυντ.* with *ἔχομεν*.

To illustrate the change of person, cf. *Paneg.* § 29, *δείκνυμεν...ἐδίδαξεν*, and on the transition from aor. to present cf. § 6. n. The nom. to *ἐλυνθήσαν* is οἱ *ραθυμοῦντες καὶ τὰς πλησμονὰς ἀγαπῶντες*, or any similar idea implied in the words ἐν τῷ *ραθυμῆν*, κ.τ.λ.

καὶ κεῖ μὲν—ἡδονὰς ἔχομεν.] For the general meaning the lines of Geo. Herbert (imitated possibly from

Musonius ap. Gellium, *Noct. Attic.* XVI. 1) will suffice: *If thou do ill; the joy fades, not the pains: If well; the pain doth fade, the joy remains.*

48. **φαύλοις**(σπουδαίοις.) These words appear to bear a semi-social meaning in this passage, contrasting the vulgar and the respectable. This sense is borne out by § 49, *χρήματα...δῶξαν...φίλους*. v. § 1. n.

εὐθὺς γὰρ...ὑποθέσιν.] Similarly *Archid.* § 90, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἅπασιν βουλευτέον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἑκαστοὶ τοῦ βίου ποιήσονται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

49. **ὅπου γὰρ—ἢ ποῦ γε.** 'For whereas we count reprobate those who are false even in word alone; why surely, we cannot deny (lit. 'can we deny?') that *those* are bad who fall behind-hand during the whole of their life.'

For ὅπου δὲ...ἢ ποῦ cf. *de Perm.* § 70 (quoted § 36. n. 1), *de Perm.* § 33, ὅπου γὰρ...ἢ ποῦ σφόδρ' ἂν, *Ephr.* 2, 15, εἰ γὰρ...ἢ ποῦ σέ γε προσήκει. *de Pace*, § 24, ὅπου γὰρ Ἀθηγόδωρος καὶ Καλλίστρατος...οἰκίσαι πόλεις οἷσι τε γεγόνασιν, ἢ ποῦ βουλευθέντες ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς ἂν τόπους τοιοῦτους κατασχέιν δυναθῆμεν. ἢ ποῦ implies assurance blended with real or ironical doubt; ἢ ποῦ in such sentences is often interrogative.

παντὶ ἐλαττουμένους οὐ φαύλους εἶναι φήσωμεν; δικαίως δ' ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους ὑπολάβοιμεν μὴ μόνον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τύχης εἶναι προδότας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐ χρήματα καὶ δόξαν καὶ φίλους ἐνεχείρισεν, οἱ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναξίους τῆς ὑπαρχούσης εὐδαιμονίας κατέστησαν. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ θνητὸν ὄντα τῆς τῶν θεῶν στοχάσασθαι διανοίας, ἡγοῦμαι κάκεινους ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοτατοις μάλιστα δηλῶσαι, πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς φαύλους καὶ τοὺς σπουδαίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ζεὺς γὰρ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Τάνταλον γεννήσας, ὥς

ἐλαττουμένους.] Bens. (*Præf.* iv.) says that the sense 'inferiores ea quam de se praeberant opinione,' i.e. 'falling short of previous expectations' is foreign to Isocr. However, in *de Perm.* § 281, he has these words: εἰ τις ὑπολαμβάνει τοὺς ἀποστερούντας ἢ παρὰ λογιζομένους ἢ κακὸν τι ποιοῦντας πλεονεκτεῖν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκεν' οὐδένες γὰρ ἐν ἀπαντι τῷ βίῳ μᾶλλον ἐλαττοῦνται τῶν τοιούτων, οὐδ' ἐν πλείοσιν ἀπορίαις εἰσιν, ... οὐδ' ὅλως ἀθλιώτεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. Here (as also in *Panath.* § 243) there is a contrast between πλεονεκτεῖν (in its good sense, v. § 27. n.) and ἐλαττοῦσθαι, between 'gaining advantage,' and 'losing advantage;' 'honourably improving one's position,' and 'dishonourably impairing it;' and this meaning is readily applicable to the present passage. οἱ ἐλαττοῦμενοι=here, 'those who give up their advantages, χρήματα, δόξαν, φίλους,' and, by an easy transition, 'those who fall behind-hand,' or, in homelier phrase, '*droff off*.'

On the hiatus in παντὶ ἐλαττ. it may be observed that, in the passage quoted above from *de Perm.*, the hiatus is avoided. Isocr. appears to have been somewhat less sensitive on such points, in his 'moral writings' (λόγοι παρανεητικοί) and 'forensic speeches written for clients' (λ. δικανικοί), than in speeches like the *Paneg.* and *de Pace* (which are λ. συμβουλευτικοί), or the *Helenaë*

Encomium and the *Busiris* (λ. ἐπιδεικτικοί). v. *Paneg.* § 143. n.

οὐ φ. εἶναι φήσωμεν.] On this use of οὐ cf. Plato, *Prot.* 352 D, πολλοὺς φασὶ γινώσκοντας τὰ βέλτιστα οὐκ ἐθέλειν πράττειν. Madv. *Synt.* § 205 (b). For φήσωμεν (the subj. dubitativus) see Madv. *Synt.* § 121. [φήσωμεν, Cod. Urbinas foll. by Benseler; φήσομεν is adopted by Bekk. and BS.] 'οὐ malim abesse.' Baiter.

50. τοὺς φαύλους τῶν ἀνθρώπων.] 'Those men who are bad.' τῶν ἀνθ. a species of partitive genitive, Madv. *Synt.* § 50. A favourite construction, not only in the *Er. ad Dem.* (e.g. § 11, τὰ κατὰ τῶν ζώων... τοὺς σπουδαίους τῶν γονέων, § 42, ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, &c.) but also in the acknowledged writings of Isocr. (e.g. *Areop.* § 47, τὰς ἐπεικεῖς τῶν φύσεων, *de Pace*, § 109, &c.).

Ἡρακλέα...ἀρετήν.] In *Philip.* § 109, 110, Isocr. speaks of the mental excellence (τῶν τῇ ψυχῇ προσόντων ἀγαθῶν) of Hercules as a tempting subject for encomium, 'a theme fraught with many praiseworthy deeds and languishing for lack of a worthy panegyrist;' and in § 144 he characterizes Hercules, Tantalus, and others, in the following terms: τὸν Ταντάλου πλοῦτον· τὴν Πέλοπος ἀρχὴν· τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν· τὴν Ἡρακλέους ὑπερβολὴν· τὴν Θήσεως ἀρετήν.—The stories of Hercules and Tantalus are well and

οἱ μῦθοι λέγουσι καὶ πάντες πιστεύουσι, τὸν μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατον ἐποίησε, τὸν δὲ διὰ τὴν κακίαν ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμωρίαις ἐκόλασεν. οἷς δὲ παραδείγμασι χρωμένους ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς καλοκαγαθίας, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν β εἰρημένοις ἐμμένειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τὰ βέλτιστα

briefly told by Mr G. W. Cox, *Tales of Ancient Greece*, pp. 66—77.

ὡς οἱ μῦθοι λέγ. κ.τ.λ.] Cf. *Paneg.* § 28, καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυθώδης ὁ λόγος γέγονεν, ὁμῶς αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ῥηθῆναι προσήκει. n. Isocr. argues from mythical narratives whenever they suit his subject, but applies to them no principles of historical criticism. Grote's *H. G.* new ed. I. p. 335. n.

51. **χρωμένους.**] Bens. retains *χρωμένοις*, which is said to be the reading of the Urb. MS. Δεῖ would then be followed by a very rare construction, the dat. with the inf. Instances of this construction are Eur. *Hipp.* 940, θεοῖσι προσβαλεῖν τὸν ἄλλον | ἄλλην δεήσει γαῖαν, and Xen. *Anab.* III. 4, 35, δεῖ ἐπιστάει τὸν ἵππον Πέρση ἀνδρὶ καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. The usual formula is δεῖ με ποιεῖν τι and not δεῖ μοι ποιεῖν τι. For this reason, and also because the presence of the dat. is accounted for by the immediate juxtaposition of οἷς...παραδείγμασι, which may have led the copyist wrong, it seems safer to adopt the other reading *χρωμένους*. (Partly from Schn.)

ὀρέγεσθαι.] Lit. 'to reach after.' A frequent word in Isocr. Thus we find it followed by δόξης § 5, τῶν καλῶν ἔργων § 46, τῆς δικαιοσύνης § 38; also *ad Nicol.* § 2, ποίων ἐπιτηδεύματων ὀρεγόμενος, κ.τ.λ.; *de Pace*, §§ 23, 62, and 144, ἄξιον οὖν ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης ἡγεμονίας. (In one passage we find him using a rarer word, ὀργινᾶσθαι. *Εἰρ.* 6, 9, πολὺς δόξης ὀργινᾶσθαι.) ὀρέγεσθαι (like *στοχάζεω*, *τυγχάνειν*, κ.τ.λ.) almost invariably takes the gen. (*Madv. Synt.* § 57 a).

ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἶρ.] Not ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρημένοις. Cf. § 5, ἡμεῖς. n.

τῶν ποιητῶν...καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σοφιστῶν.] These words by themselves can be translated in two distinctly different ways: (1) 'of the poets...and of the other sophists, and (2) 'of the poets...and of the sophists besides.' (1) makes the *ποιητής* a *species* of the *genus* *σοφιστής*. (2) regards the poet and the sophist as perfectly independent of one another. With regard to the present passage, the following points are all that I can urge in defence of (1). (a) We are told by Diog. Laert. (I. § 12), that not only οἱ σοφοί, but οἱ ποιηταὶ also, were called *σοφισταί*. καθὰ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν 'Αρχιλόχῳ τοὺς περὶ "Ομηρον κ. 'Ησίοδον ἐπανῶν, οὕτως καλεῖ. (b) The same writer (I. § 40) says that all the 'seven wise men' [notably Solon] 'attempted poetry' (ἐπιθέσθαι *ποιητικῇ*).—That (1) is wrong and (2) right is, I think, decided by the following passages: *Paneg.* § 82, μηδένα...μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν. (see n.). *ad Nicol.* § 13, μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν τῶν εὐδοκούντων μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν μηδεὶς οἷον δεῖν ἀπέριως ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀκροατῆς γίγναι, τῶν δὲ μαθητῆς. Xen. *Memorab.* IV. 2, 1, γράμματα πολλὰ συνελεγμένον ποιητῶν τε καὶ σοφιστῶν τῶν εὐδοκούντων.

For this use of ἄλλος cf. *Paneg.* § 26, τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς, *Philipp.* § 148, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἀγανταίην ἤτταν τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἢ τὰς ἄλλας νίκας, Plato, *Gorg.* 473 C, πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, Eur. *Ion*, 161 (after speaking of an eagle), ὅδε ποδὺς θυμέας ἄλλος ἐρῶσει κύκρος (i.e. 'another bird, a swan,' 'a swan besides'). Just as in these passages, so in that before us,

μανθάνειν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σοφιστῶν, εἴ τι χρήσιμον εἰρη-
 52 κασιν, ἀναγινώσκειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὴν μέλιτταν ὀρώμεν ἐφ'
 ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ βλαστήματα καθίζανουσιν, ἀφ' ἐκάστου δὲ
 τὰ βέλτιστα λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς παιδείας ὀρε-
 γομένους μηδεὺς μὲν ἀπείρως ἔχειν, πανταχόθεν δὲ τὰ χρή-
 σιμα συλλέγειν. μόλις γὰρ ἂν τις ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιμελείας
 τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἀμαρτίας ἐπικρατήσκειν.

the noun may be taken to be in a kind of apposition to the case of ἄλλος that is used, so that τῶν ἄλλων σοφιστῶν = 'of the other class of persons, I mean the sophists.'

τῶν ἄλ. σοφ. εἰ-τι-χρήσιμον-εἰρή-
 κασιν almost = τῶν ἄλ. σοφ. τὰ χρή-
 σιμα, 'all the useful maxims of the sophists besides.' Cf. *de Perm.* § 105, οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι μετέχειν, εἰ τι Τιμόθεος πρᾶττων μὴ κατῴρῃσιν.

By the σοφισταί in the text are meant not only the celebrated teachers of the fifth cent. B.C., who laid claim to wisdom and taught it for money, but also such men as Solon, Chilo, Pittacus, Bias, Periander, Cleobulus, Thales (τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σοφιστῶν, *de Perm.* § 235), the seven wise men of Greece, whose traditionary or recorded maxims have in many cases been imitated by the writer of this Ep. Xen. *Memorab.* i. 6, 14, τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐς ἐκείνοι κατέλιπον ἐν βιβλοῖς γράφοντες. On the sophists see further, *Paneg.* § 3, n., and § 82, n.

The poets referred to are probably those who left behind them moral and didactic poems; e.g. Hesiod, Theognis, Phocylides. These poets were too much neglected, says Isocr. *ad Nicocl.* § 43, σημείον δ' ἂν τις ποιήσαιο τὴν Ἡσίοδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδουποίησιν καὶ γὰρ τούτους φασὶ μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενῆσθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων,

ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες αἰροῦνται συνδια-
 τρεῖν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις, κ.τ.λ. The gnomes, or 'brief sententious precepts' of the leading tragedians are also doubtless alluded to. *ad Nicocl.* § 44, τῶν προεχόντων ποιητῶν τὰς καλουμένας γνῶμας. Milton, *Par. Reg.* iv. 261 sqq.

ὥσπερ τὴν μέλιτταν κ.τ.λ.] The comparison is common; e.g. Lucretius, III. 11, *Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant*, *Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta, cel.* Seneca, *Ep.* 84, 5, *Apes debemus imitari et quaecunque ex diversa lectione congestimus, separare, deinde adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate, in unum saporem varia illa libamenta confundere*. Plutarch (περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν, 41 F), δὲ μμεῖσθαι μὴ τὰς στεφηνπλόκους ἀλλὰ τὰς μελίσσας, κ.τ.λ. and an elegant passage in St Basil the Great, (exhorting Christian youth to the study of human learning), *ad adolesc.* cap. iii. (v.), κατὰ πᾶσαν δὴ οὖν τῶν μελιττῶν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν λόγων ὑμῖν μεθεκτέον, κ.τ.λ. *q.v.* καθίζανουσιν || λαμβάνουσιν.] An instance of παραμοίωσις, to secure which a rare form καθίζανουσιν (found only in *Æsch. Eum.* 59), is used instead of a commoner word, e.g. καθίζομένην (v. Veitch, *Gk. Vbs.* s.v. ἱζάνω).

μόλις] = vix, et vix tamen. See paraphrase at § 44. n. 1.

ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ.

Ὁ λογος κατ' ἐκείνους ἐγγραφη τοὺς χρόνους, οτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἦρχον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ταπεινῶς ἐπράττομεν. ἔστι δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατείαν, Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητῶν. τοιαύτην δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενος ἀποφαίνω τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν γεγεννημένην. ἀφορισάμενος δὲ τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ βουλόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτι σαφέστερον ἀποφαίνειν ὥς ἔστι τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθὲνδε ποθὲν ἐπιχειρῶ διδάσκειν περὶ τούτων, ὥς τῇ πόλει τιμᾶσθαι προσήκει πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον κινδύνων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργεσιῶν.

[The above summary was written by Isocr. himself. (*De Perm.* §§ 57, 58. v. *Paneg.* § 51. n.).]

(α.) Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τῶν τὰς πανηγύρεις συνα- 41
γαγόντων καὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάντων, ὅτι

§§ 1—14. *Exordium.* 1, 2. *Although the founders of these general assemblies have wrongly assigned the highest honours to physical and not to intellectual excellence, 3, 4, I nevertheless propose to address you on this occasion with a view to promote the unity of Greece, and to induce her to make war against Persia. Many have attempted this theme already; but have not treated it in an adequate manner. 5, 6. The times of crisis have not yet passed by, and the need of such an exhortation as I propose is still as imperative as ever. 7—10.*

Further, the power of oratory is such that it can treat the same facts in many various ways; I may therefore fairly endeavour to out rival my predecessors, and, by this spirit of competition, aid in advancing the art of oratory. 11, 12. I address myself, not to those who wish me to descend to their low standard of rhetoric, but rather to those who will try me by the highest criterion, and will despise me if I express myself in an unworthy manner.

πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα κ.τ.λ.] Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 14, 2, alludes to this

τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμάτων εὐτυχίας οὕτω μεγάλων δωρεῶν
ἤξιωσαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἰδίᾳ πονήσασι καὶ τὰς
αὐτῶν ψυχὰς οὕτω παρασκευάσασιν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
2 ὠφέλειν δύνασθαι, τοῦτοις δ' οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμαν· ὧν ἂν
εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ
ἀθλητῶν δις τοσαύτην ῥώμην λαβόντων οὐδὲν ἂν πλέον
γένοιτο τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐνὸς δ' ἀνδρὸς εἰς φρονήσαντος ἅπαντες
ἂν ἀπολαύσειαν οἱ βουλόμενοι κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου δια-
3 νοίας. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἀθυμήσας εἰλόμην ῥαθυμεῖν, ἀλλ'

exordium: λέγεται δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐπιδει-
κτικῶν προοίμια ἐξ ἐπαίνου ἢ ψόγου·
ὅσον Γοργίας μὲν ἐν τῷ 'Ολυμπικῷ
λόγῳ 'ὕπὸ πολλῶν ἀξιοῖ θαυμάζεσθαι,
ὡ ἄνδρες 'Ἕλληνες'· ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς τὰς
πανηγύρεις συνάγοντας· Ἰσοκράτης δὲ
ψέγει, ὅτι τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ἀρε-
τὰς δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησαν, τοῖς δ' εἰς φρο-
νοῦσιν οὐθὲν ἄθλον ἐποίησαν, and in
III. 9, he quotes πολλάκις...καταστη-
σάντων as an instance of διηρημένη
λέξις.

ἐθαύμασα τῶν...συναγ...ἐτι...]
One of the common constructions
of θαυμάζω is the gen. of the person
and the acc. of the thing. θαυμ.
τῶς τι (e.g. Soph. Phil. 1362, καὶ
σοῦ δ' ἔγωγε θαυμάσας ἔχω τόδε), but
this acc. of the thing appears often
as here in the form of an explana-
tory sentence, stating the cause of
wonder introduced by such a word
as ἐτι, ὅπου, ὅπως, or εἰ, e.g. Isocr.
Nicocl. § 3, θαυμάζω τῶν ταύτην τὴν
γνώμην ἔχοντων ὅπως οὐ καὶ τὸν
πλοῦτον κακῶς λέγουσιν. Philib. § 42,
θαυμάζω τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀδύνατον
εἶναι πραχθῆναι τι τούτων, εἰ μήτ'
αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσι, κ.τ.λ., and Paneg.
§ 170.

πανηγύρεις] Alludes to the Pan-
hellenic assemblies at the Olympic,
Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian
games, and also to special assem-
blies like the Attic festival of the
Panathenaea. Contests both of phy-
sical and intellectual prowess were
instituted on these occasions, but
the former kind of excellence was

naturally more popular, and met
with greater encouragement than the
latter. In the Panathenaeic oration,
§ 135, Isocr. speaks (in his old age)
with some little scorn of 'those who
in the general assemblies indulge in
vituperation; or, if they refrain from
such madness, bestow praise on the
most trifling objects, and on the most
lawless men.' During some of these
intellectual contests the greater part
of the audience went to sleep (*Pan-
ath.* § 263, ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις τοῖς πανη-
γυρικοῖς, ἐν οἷς πλείους εἰσιν οἱ καθεύ-
δοντες τῶν ἀκροωμένων), v. § 45. n.

τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμάτων κ.τ.λ.] Cf.
Epp. 8, § 5, θαυμάζω δ' ὅσαι τῶν
πόλεων μειζόνων δωρεῶν ἀξιοῦσι τοὺς
ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι κατορθοῦντας
μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῇ
φιλοπονίᾳ τι τῶν χρησίων εὐρίσκον-
τας, κ.τ.λ.

δωρεῶν.] On δωρεᾶ(δῶρον cf. *ad
Dem.* § 2. n.

τούτοις δ'] = 'to these men, *I
say.*' Δὲ in *apodosis*: this usage is,
in Attic prose, frequently found after
demonstrative adverbs and pro-
nouns, cf. § 98, ἀ δ' ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ...ταῦτα
δέ, § 176, ἀ δέ...ταῦτα δέ, *Areop.*
§ 47, παρ' οἷς μὲν γὰρ...παρὰ τούτοις
μὲν...ὅπου δέ...ἐνταῦθα δέ... Thuc.
II. 46, ἅθλα γὰρ οἷς κείται ἀρετῆς
μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες θριαστοὶ
πολιτεύουσι. See also *Madv. Synl.*
§ 188, R. 6 (where, for the misprint
Isocr. *Paneg.* 71, read Isocr. *de Ferm.*
71).

ικανὸν νομίσας ἄθλον ἔσεσθαι μοι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γενησομένην ἥκω συμβουλευέσων περὶ τε τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τῆς ὁμοιοίας τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν προσπονη-

3. **βάρβαροι.**] Constantly contrasted with Ἕλληνες, and meaning those who could not speak Greek. The word is onomatopoeetic, the sound answers to the sense (cf. βαβάξω, βαμβαλίζω, Heb. 'Babel,' Eng. 'babble,' and Sanskrit, 'varvara' =jabberer), and represents the apparently incoherent and rapid utterance of those whose language the hearer cannot understand. Cf. e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1051 [1 Corinth. xiv. 11, εἰπὼν μὴ εἰδὼ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος· καὶ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ βάρβαρος].

τῶν πρ. εἶναι σοφιστῶν.] Alludes especially to Gorgias and his λόγος Ὀλυμπικός, the subject of which was similar to that of the *Paneg.* of Isocr. (Philostrat. *Epist.* 13).

The word σοφιστής is one of a large class of words derived from verbs ending in -ίζω. Cf. γραμματιστής, καλλωπιστής, ἀνδραποδιστής, Λακωνιστής. These, and similar words, generally denote an assumed character or profession. Σοφός = a really wise man; σοφιστής = one who lays claim to wisdom, 'a professor' of wisdom; hence (as this claim might often be unwarranted) = a mere professor of wisdom, who had no real right to the name.

The usage of the word in Isocr. is indicated by the following passages: *Hel.* § 9, τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ φάσκοντας εἶναι σοφιστὰς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἡμελημένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἅπαντες εἰσὶν ἀνταγωνισταί, προσήκει διαφέρειν καὶ κρείττους εἶναι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, *Panath.* § 5 (Isocr. speaking of himself), ὑπὸ τῶν σοφ. τῶν ἀδοκίμων καὶ πονηρῶν διαβάλλομενος, *de Perm.* § 313 (speaking of the Athenians of former days), τοὺς καλουμένους σοφιστὰς ἐθαύμαζον... Σόλων αὖτον πρῶτον τῶν πολιτῶν λαβόντα τὴν ἐπωνυ-

μὴν ταύτην, *ib.* § 235, Σόλων μὲν τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφιστῶν ἐκλήθη καὶ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὴν νῦν ἀτιμαζομένην καὶ κρωνομένην παρ' ὑμῖν, Περικλῆς δὲ δυοῖν (Anaxagoras and Damon) ἐγένετο μαθητής, *ib.* § 268, Empedocles, Ion, Alcmaeon, Parmenides, Melissus, and Gorgias, are mentioned as παλαιοὶ σοφισταί. The fragment κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν teems with indignation against those who laid claim to the title of σοφιστής without deserving it. The name carried an obnoxious meaning, and was therefore little used by those who had the best right to it. Isocr. shews some hesitation in applying the term directly to himself, but in several passages of the speech, *de Permutatione*, e.g. § 155, 157, he virtually acknowledges himself as such, and defends his profession. On the whole, then, we may conclude that in Isocr. the word is used in a twofold sense, to indicate (1) those who had a real claim to the title of wise men, (2) those who had not. The use of the word in a good sense prevailed until the time of Aristophanes; thus Herodotus gives this name to the 'seven wise men,' and to Pythagoras (I. 29, IV. 95). And Cratinus (the comic poet, 519—422 B.C.) gave the name to the poets of the school of Homer and Hesiod (*v. ad Dem.* § 51. n.). Not till the exhibition of the 'Clouds' of Aristophanes (in 423) was the name (so far as we can tell) used as a term of reproach, a meaning which it constantly bears in the pages of Plato, who applies it to Protagoras, Gorgias, Polus, Hippias, Prodicus, Thrasymachus, and others.

An estimate of the character of these sophists is beyond the limits of an ordinary note. It will be enough to refer to the famous 67th chapter

σαμένων εἶναι σοφιστῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὥρμησαν, 42
 4 ἀλλ' ἅμα μὲν ἐλπίζων τοσοῦτον διοίσειν ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοις
 μηδὲν πώποτε δοκεῖν εἰρήσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἅμα δὲ προ-
 κρίνας τούτους καλλίστους εἶναι τῶν λόγων, οἵτινες περὶ
 μεγίστων τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες καὶ τοὺς τε λέγοντας μάλιστ'
 ἐπιδεικνύουσι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας πλείστ' ὠφελοῦσιν· ὦν εἰς
 5 οὗτός ἐστιν. ἔπειτ' οὐδ' οἱ καιροὶ πω παρεληλύθασιν ὥστ'
 ἡδὴ μάτην εἶναι τὸ μεμνησθαι περὶ τούτων. τότε γὰρ χρή
 παύεσθαι λέγοντας, ὅταν ἢ τὰ πράγματα λάβῃ τέλος καὶ b

of Mr Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, with the masterly criticisms of Mr Cope (*Journ. of Class. and Sacred Philology*, Nos. 2, 5, 7, 9), and to quote the following incisive statement of the contrast between Mr Grote's view and the popular representation of the sophists. 'According to the common notion, they were a sect; according to him, they were a class or profession. According to the common view, they were the propagators of demoralizing doctrines, and of what from them are termed "sophistical" argumentations. According to Mr Grote, they were the regular teachers of Greek morality, neither above nor below the standard of the age. According to the common view, Socrates was the great opponent of the Sophists, and Plato his natural successor in the same combat. According to Mr Grote, Socrates was the great representative of the Sophists, distinguished from them only by his higher eminence, and by the peculiarity of his life and teaching.' *Quarterly Review*, No. 175.

4. ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοις κ.τ.λ.] These words may be best taken as follows: ὥστε δοκεῖν μηδὲν πώποτε εἰρήσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ αὐτῶν, joining τοῖς ἄλλοις not with δοκεῖν but with εἰρήσθαι. For the dat. of the agent after a pass. verb, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 236, σοὶ μὲν εἰρήσθαι χρεῖν, | ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαι, &c.—v. Jelf (Kühner), § 611 a. τοῖς ἄλλοις=πολλοῖς τῶν προσπ. εἶναι σοφιστῶν. περὶ αὐτῶν=περὶ τοῦ

πολέμου...καὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας.

The above interpretation is supported by the general tone of the context: also cf. § 12, οἶον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ εὐρήσετε. Schn. however explains τοῖς ἄλλοις of the audience and takes it with δοκεῖν, on the ground that the other sense would more naturally be expressed thus: τοσ. τῶν ἄλλων δι., ὥστε μηδὲν κ.τ.λ.

ὦν εἰς οὗτός ἐστιν.] Obs. the very short clause terminating the long sentence consisting of §§ 3, 4. For a still more striking instance cf. the exordium of the Panathenaic speech, where an elaborate sentence of 17 lines closes with the words νῦν δ' οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν τοὺς τοιοῦτους.

5. ἔπειτ' οὐδ' οἱ καιροί...] i.e. 'In the next place, the times of crisis have not yet passed away, so as to render it vain to make mention of these subjects.' Καιροί frequently in pl.= 'times of crisis,' 'times of emergency.' (On the deriv. cf. *ad Dem.* § 2).—ὥστ' ἡδὴ κ.τ.λ. lit. 'So that to make mention of them is by this time in vain.' τὸ μεμνησθαι is the subj.—μάτην εἶναι is here used where μάταιον εἶναι might have been expected. Cf. § 16, πόρρω...ἔστι, *Archid.* § 42, ἀρχαῖα καὶ πόρρω, Plato *Protag.* 325 B, σκέψαι ὡς θαυμασίως γίγνονται οἱ ἀγαθοί (= 'think what strange people you make of your virtuous men'). Cic. *ad Att.* 1. 7, *apud matrem recte est.*

λέγοντας, ὅταν.] The old reading was λέγοντα ὅταν. To remove the *hiatus*, Wolf proposed λέγοντας,

μηκέτι δὲ βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἢ τὸν λόγον ἴδῃ τις ἔχοντα πέρας, ὥστε μηδεμίαν λελεῖφθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερ-
6 βολήν. ἕως δ' ἂν τὰ μὲν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ πρότερον φέρεται, τὰ δ' εἰρημένα φανύλως ἔχοντα τυγχάνῃ, πῶς οὐ χρή σκοπεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὃς ἦν κατορθωθῇ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τῆς παρούσης c
7 καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξει; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ μὲν μηδαμῶς ἄλλως οἶόν τ' ἦν δηλοῦν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ μιᾶς ιδέας, εἶχεν ἂν τις ὑπολαβεῖν, ὡς περιέργον

a reading which has since been confirmed by the Cod. Urbinas and Cod. Ambrosianus and is now universally accepted.—The two clauses ἢ τὰ πράγματα κ.τ.λ., ἢ τὸν λόγον κ.τ.λ. are completely parallel with one another: thus λαμβάνειν τέλος and ἔχειν πέρας are almost identical in meaning, and are used only for the sake of variety in expression. Cf. λέγειν and εἰπεῖν, §§ 10, 11.

περὶ αὐτῶν.] The rule, by which the hiatus is avoided in Isocrates, is not universal, and this is one of the exceptions. For other cases see § 143. n.—In Comic verse περὶ is often allowed to stand before a vowel, which either begins the next word, or (as in *περιῦδεν*) is part of the same word. In Tragic verse this license is not allowed. Cf. Porson on Eur. *Med.* 284.

6. ἕως δ' ἂν κ.τ.λ.] '...But so long as the events take their course in like manner as before, and the things said of them are all the time poorly expressed, is it not certainly our duty to scan and to study this theme of oratory, which, if rightly established, will rescue us from our mutual warfare, from our present confusion, and from the greatest calamities?'

πῶς οὐ χρή.] Lit. 'how is it not right?' not in the sense 'in what special respect is it wrong?' but 'how can it help being right?' The literal translation is seldom adequate.

σκοπεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν.] φιλ. is often applied by Isocr. to the me-

thodical and earnest pursuit of any object (esp. oratory, cf. § 186, *πονήσει καὶ φιλοσοφήσει*, § 10. n.), *de Perim.* 121, τοῦτ' ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπραττεν ὅπως μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων αὐτὸν φοβήσεται, *de Pace*, 5, μελετᾶν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν, 116, φιλοσοφήσετε καὶ σκέψεσθε, *Epp.* 7, 3, ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν, *Ranath.* 11, φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ πονεῖν καὶ γράφειν ἃ διανοηθεῖν. In the curious speech written by Lysias ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου (§ 10), his disabled client says, πάντα οἶμαι τοὺς ἔχοντάς τι δυστύχημα τοιοῦτο ραστώ-
vην τινα ζητεῖν καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν ὅπως ὡς ἀνυπότατα μεταχειρίζονται τὸ συμβεβηκὸς πάθος. In all these passages, the context precludes 'philosophy' in the highest sense of the term.—The two verbs σκοπεῖν κ. φιλ. mean almost the same as φιλο-
σώφως σκοπεῖν. Cf. *de Pace*, 128, διεξιέναι καὶ θρηνεῖν, Dem. *Aristocr.* ἐπαινῶν καὶ διεξιὼν τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην.

κατορθοῦν.] κατορθοῦν is used in two senses, which must be carefully distinguished. (1) 'to succeed' (intrans.), (2) 'to do a thing on right principles' (trans. as here). Wherever the idea of success is sharply contrasted with the idea of failure, κατορθοῦν is generally used; when there is no such contrast, κατορθοῦσθαι, e.g. *Phil.* 35, *Areop.* 72, κατορθοῦν)(ἐξαμαρτάνειν, *Phil.* 68, *Archid.* 5, κ.)(διαμαρτάνειν, *ib.* 48, μὴ κ.)(νικᾶν, and below, §§ 48, 69, 97, 124. *Arist. Eth.* II. 6. 13, 14.

7. ἀλλ' ἤ...] = except. This formula occurs only after an actual

ἔστι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις λέγοντα πάλιν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς
8 ἀκούουσιν· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ λόγοι τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν φύσιν,
ὥσθ' οἷόν τ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλαχῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι,
καὶ τὰ τε μεγάλα ταπεινὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μέγεθος δ
περιθεῖναι, καὶ τὰ τε παλαιὰ καινῶς διελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν
νεωστὶ γεγεννημένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι φευκτέον ταυτ'
ἔστι, περὶ ὧν ἕτεροι πρότερον εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἄμεινον ἐκέ-

or implied negative. It is doubtful whether it stands for (1) ἀλλὰ ἢ or (2) ἄλλο ἢ. Of these explanations (1) is adopted by Riddell (*Digest of Platonic Idioms*, § 148, ἀλλὰ states flatly the exception to the preceding negative; ἢ allows the negative statement to revive, subject to this exception alone), (2) by Madvig, *Synt.* § 91, 2.—In this passage, where ἄλλως occurs in the first part of the sentence, (1) seems preferable. The construction may then be explained as a blending of two methods of expression, 1. *μηδαμῶς ἄλλως...ἀλλὰ διὰ μᾶς ιδέας*, and 2. *μηδαμῶς ἄλλως...ἢ διὰ μᾶς ιδέας*. In passages where ἄλλος, ἄλλως, &c. do *not* precede the formula, (2) is a satisfactory explanation.—See also Jelf (Kühner), *Gk. Gram.* § 773, 1—3.

8. Trans. 'but, whereas such is the nature of oratory that it is possible to describe the same things in many ways, not only to make great things humble and to crown little things with greatness, but also to relate things olden in a style that is new, and to speak of events that have lately happened in a style that is antique, we must no longer shrink from a subject, on which others have spoken before, but endeavour to speak better than they.'

οἱ λόγοι κ.τ.λ.] In the *Phædrus* of Plato (written before the *Paneg.*) occurs the following passage, p. 267 A, Τισίαν δὲ Γοργίαν τε ἔασομεν εὔδειν, οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν τὰ εἰκότα εἶδον ὡς τιμητέα μᾶλλον, τὰ τε αὖ σμικρὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μεγάλα σμικρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦσι διὰ ῥώμην λόγον, καινὰ τε ἀρχαίως τὰ τ' ἐναντία καινῶς,

συντομίαν τε λόγων καὶ ἀπειρα μήκη περὶ πάντων ἀνεύρον; Hence it is probable that Isocr. is quoting a current formula in which Gorgias, Tisias, or some other sophist may have expressed his views on the power of oratory. That formula is here simply corroborated and sanctioned, and there is therefore no reason for placing implicit trust in those writers who cite the following apophthegm, apparently as an original remark of Isocr., ἐρομένου τινος αὐτόν, τί ῥητορικῇ, εἶπεν, τὰ τε μικρὰ μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα μικρὰ ποιεῖν (*Pseudo-plutarch*, 838 F, *Hermogenes*, III. p. 363, Walz). Longinus(?), *de Sublim.* § 38, quotes the passage before us almost *verbatim* and criticises it, as follows: ὁ γοῦν Ἰσοκράτης, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, παιδὸς πρᾶγμα ἔπαθεν, διὰ τὴν τοῦ πάντα αὐξητικῶς ἐθέλειν λέγειν φιλοτιμίαν... οὐκοῦν, φησὶ τις, Ἰσοκράτης, οὕτως μέλλεις καὶ τὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐναλλάττειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ τὸ τῶν λόγων ἐγκώμιον ἀπιστίας τῆς καθ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀκούουσι παράγ- γελμα καὶ προσέμιον ἐξέθηκε.

τὰ παλαιά.] (πάλαι) 'things that have long been,' opp. to τὰ νεωστὶ γεγεννημένα.—ἀρχαίως(ς) καινῶς, 'in an antique or old-fashioned style') ('in a novel style.' παλαιὸς=*vetus*; ἀρχαῖος=*antiquus*).

ἀρχαίως· ἐνοι μὲν φασὶ σημαίνειν ἀρχαιοτρόπως, τουνόστιν ἀρχαιοτέ- ρους ὀνόμασι χρῆσθαι (Harpocration).

ἄμεινον — πεπρατόεν.] In the speech, *de Perm.* § 61, Isocr., speaking of the *Paneg.*, flatters himself that he has succeeded in this attempt to outrival his competitors, 'so that those who on former occasions wrote

- 9 *νων εἰπεῖν πειρατέον. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πράξεις αἱ προγεγενη-*
μεναι κοινὰ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατελείφθησαν, τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ
ταυταῖς καταχρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ προσήκουτα περὶ ἑκάστης
ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὖ διαθέσθαι τῶν εὖ φρο-
 10 *νούντων ἰδίον ἐστίν. ἡγοῦμαι δ' οὕτως ἂν μεγίστην ἐπίδοσιν*
λαμβάνειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ε
φιλοσοφίαν, εἴ τις θαυμάζοι καὶ τιμῶῃ μὴ τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν
ἔργων ἀρχομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄρισθ' ἑκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξερ-
γαζομένους, μηδὲ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ζητοῦντας λέγειν, περὶ 43
ὧν μηδεὶς πρότερον εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς οὕτως ἐπισταμένους
εἰπεῖν, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος δύναίτο.
- 11 (β'). Καίτοι τινὲς ἐπιτιμῶσι τῶν λόγων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς
 ἰδιώτας ἔχουσι καὶ λίαν ἀπηκριβωμένους, καὶ τοσοῦτον διη-

on this subject have destroyed all their speeches, in very shame for what they had said.'

9. τὰ πρ...ἐνθυμηθῆναι...διαθέσθαι.] ἐνθυμηθῆναι κ.τ.λ. corresponds in general sense to the technical term *inventio*, διαθέσθαι, κ.τ.λ. to *dispositio*. Cf. Cic. *Orator*, xiv. § 43, *Tria videnda sunt oratori, quid dicat (= inventio) et quo quidque loco (= dispositio) et quomodo (= elocutio)*.

10. φιλοσοφίαν.] In Isocr. the word *φιλοσοφία* is used in a peculiar sense. It indicates a combination of ἡ πολιτική and ἡ ῥητορική, in which the latter generally predominates. The words *φιλοσοφία*, *φιλοσοφεῖν*, *φιλόσοφος* are scattered broadcast over most of his writings, especially the speech *de Perm.* The following passages will indicate their meaning. *Hel.* § 66, χρῆ...τοὺς φιλοσόφους πειρᾶσθαι τι λέγειν περὶ αὐτῆς (= Ἑλένης). *Evag.* § 8, οἱ περὶ τὴν φ. ὄντες (identical with οἱ περὶ τοὺς λόγους in § 10). *Phil.* § 84, ὁ λόγος ὁ πανηγυρικός, ὁ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς περὶ τὴν φ. διατρίβοντας εὐπωρώτερος ποιήσας, ἐμοὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχηκεν. *de Perm.* passim, especially § 270—280, τὴν καλουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν φ. οὐκ εἶναι φημί, κ.τ.λ. § 195. § 50,

τῆς ἐμῆς εἶτε βούλεσθε καλεῖν δυνάμεις εἶτε φιλοσοφίας εἶτε διατριβῆς. *Panath.* § 209, τοσοῦτον ἀπολελειμμένοι τῆς κοινῆς παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰσὶν (οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ὥστ' οὐδὲ γράμματα μαθηθάνουσιν.—See also Mr Cope's article in *J. of Class. and Sacr. Philol.* (No. 5, p. 150. n.) and Dr Thompson's ed. of the *Phaedrus* (Appendix II. On the Philosophy of Isocr.); *ad Dem.* § 4, *Paneg.* § 47. n. λέγειν...εἰπεῖν.] Cf. end of § 11, and *ad Dem.* § 41. n.

11. καίτοι, κ.τ.λ.] Trans. 'And yet there are some who find fault with those speeches which are beyond the range of ordinary hearers, and are excessively elaborated; and so far have they gone wrong that they examine speeches wrought in a surpassing manner by the same standard as the contests concerning private contracts, just as if both kinds of speeches ought to be alike, and not rather, in the latter case, framed in the language of plainness, in the former case, in the language of display; or as if they themselves saw clearly the true mean, and he that knows how to speak with elaboration could not also express himself with simplicity.'

ὑπὲρ τ. ἰδ. ἔχουσι.] These words

μαρτήκασιν, ὥστε τοὺς πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν πεποιημένους πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων σκοποῦσιν, ὥσπερ ὁμοίως δέον ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἀφελῶς, τοὺς δ' ἐπιδεικτικῶς, ἢ σφᾶς μὲν διορῶντας τὰς b

are not to be taken as an instance of *imesis*, as if they were equivalent to τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι τοὺς ἰδίωτας. This formula would require the gen., and it is therefore better to take ἔχουσι absolutely. Coray's scholium is brief and satisfactory; τοῖς οὖν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδίωτας. τοῖς μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς ἔχουσιν, καθὰ λέγεται καλῶς ἢ κακῶς ἔχειν' οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κατὰ τῆσιν τὸ λεγόμενον... ὡς τινες (Morus and Spohn) ὑπέλαβον.

11. ἰδιώτας.] Cf. § 44. n.

πρὸς τοὺς ἀγ. ...σκοποῦσι.] For this use of πρὸς (implying the standard of reference by which anything is estimated) cf. § 76, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀργύρου τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔκρινον, Dem. *Lept.* § 13, τὸ λυσiteléstaton πρὸς ἀργύριον σκοποῦν.

περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων.] For equally scornful allusions to forensic speeches cf. *Panath.* § 11, where Isocr. says of himself, ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ πονεῖν καὶ γράφειν, ἀδιανοηθεῖν, κατέφυγον, οὐ περὶ μικρῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν ποιούμενος, οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων οὐδὲ περὶ ὧν ἄλλοι τινὲς ληροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων, δι' ἃ προσέκειν ὅμην μοι τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων, ὅσων περὶ μετρώων καὶ καλλίωνων ἢ κείνοι τοὺς λόγους ἐποιούμην. ὧν οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἀποβέβηκεν, and *de Permi.* § 2, 3, ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἐνίοις τῶν σοφιστῶν βλασφημοῦντας περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διατριβῆς καὶ λέγοντας, ὡς ἔστι περὶ δικογραφίαν, καὶ παραπλήσιον ποιοῦντας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τις Φειδίαν τὸν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος ἐργασάμενον τολμῶη καλεῖν κοροσπλάθον, ἢ Ζεῦξιν καὶ Παρράσιον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν φαῖη τέχνην τοῖς τὰ παράκια γράφουσιν, ὅμως οὐδὲ πώποτε τὴν μικρολογίαν ταύτην ἡμυνάμην αὐτῶν, ἡγούμενος τὰς μὲν ἐκέ-

νων φλυαρίας οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ πᾶσι τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι φανερὸν, ὅτι προήρημαι καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν οὐ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοιοῦτων πραγμάτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος ἐπιχειρήσειε πλὴν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπλησιακότων ἢ τῶν τούτους μιμεῖσθαι βουλομένων.

A curious commentary on these passages is contained in the acknowledged fact that the forensic speeches of Isocr. are, in many respects, the best that he wrote.

ὥσπερ...]=*quasi, quasi vero*. The ironical force of this word extends not only over its own clause, but also over the whole of the latter part of the sentence, σφᾶς μὲν διορῶντας—εἰπεῖν. For the *acc. absolute* after ὥσπερ cf. § 63, ὥσπερ...δντας, and see *Madv. Synt.* § 182. The Latin idiom corresponding to ὥσπερ...ἀλλ' οὐ... may be seen in *Cic. pro Rosc. Am.* § 92, *Quasi nunc id agatur, quis ex tanta multitudinē occiderit, ac non (=ac non potius) hoc quaeratur, &c.*

ἀφελῶς.] The old reading was ἀσφάλως, which implied a distinction between the cautious and solid style of forensic oratory, and the ornate language of speeches in which display was the main object. This sense is not quite satisfactory, as the context demands a more decided contrast to that surpassing elaboration of the λόγοι ἐπιδεικτικοί, which is involved in the words πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν πεποιημένοι καὶ ἀκριβοῦς λέγειν. This contrast is supplied by ἀφελῶς, 'plainly,' 'simply,' an emendation first proposed by Valkenaer, and supported strongly by Cobet (*nov. lect.* 135, 6), who gives instances of a similar confusion in MSS. between ἀσφάλεια and ἀφέλεια, and is

μετριότητος, τὸν δ' ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενον λέγειν ἀπλῶς
12 οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενον εἰπεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὐ λελήθασιν, ὅτι

lastly confirmed by Hirschig (*Annot. crit. in comic.* p. 38, quoted by Schn.), who cites a scholium on *Aroφ.* § 46, where these words are quoted with ἀφελῶς and not ἀσφαλῶς. Bens. and BS retain ἀσφαλῶς.

ἐπιδεικτικῶς.] The Greek writers on Rhetoric divided all orations into three classes: (1) 'deliberative or hortative,' (2) 'forensic or judicial,' (3) 'declamatory or show-speeches' (see esp. Arist. *Rhet.* I. 3, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν. συμβουλευτὶς δὲ τὸ μὲν προτροπή, τὸ δὲ ἀποτροπή... δίκης δὲ τὸ μὲν κατηγορία, τὸ δὲ ἀπολογία... ἐπιδεικτικὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔπαινος, τὸ δὲ ψόγος).

μετριότητος.] 'The mean.' [*Das rechte maass.* Morus, Schn., Rauchent. &c.] Isocr. is speaking in bitter scorn and irony of his inappreciative critics. 'As if they, forsooth, saw clearly the true mean,—as if they were competent judges whether a speech was excessively elaborated, or excessively plain, and as if one who, like Isocrates, could speak with highly artificial grace could not also, if need were, condescend to speak with artless simplicity.' This, I believe, is the general meaning of the passage. μετριότης is here used in the good sense. Cf. Thuc. II. 35, 3, χαλεπὸν τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν, κ.τ.λ., Isocr. *ad Nicocl.* § 33, κράτιστον μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν καιρῶν τυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δυσκαταμαθῆτως ἔχουσιν, ἐλλείπειν αἰροῦ καὶ μὴ πλεονάζειν. αἱ γὰρ μετριότητες μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἐνδείαις ἢ ἐν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἔνευσιν, *Aroφ.* § 4, σωφροσύνη κ. πολλὴ μετριότης, *de Perm.* § 296, φωνῆς κοινότητα καὶ μετριότητα κ. τὴν ἄλλην εὐτραπέλιαν, *Εἰρήρ.* 3, § 4, πρὸς ἄλλο τι τῶν δεόντων ἀπλήστως ἔχειν οὐ καλόν, αἱ γὰρ μετριότητες παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς (i.e. 'the majority of mankind') εὐδοκιμοῦσι, κ.τ.λ. These are, to the best of my belief, all the pas-

sages in which Isocr. uses the word; and, in every case, it is used in a good sense. The version of Wieland, (*Mittelmässigkeit*) and that of a recent editor, 'while they themselves see through the moderate effusions,' are therefore, I think, contrary to the usage of our author.

Observe the use of the plural μετριότητας. The fundamental idea of an abstract term is inconsistent with the pl. number; but a frequent departure from this rule is a leading characteristic of Isocr. The following are the principal instances: μετριότητες, χαλεπότητες, καινότητες, ισότητες, ταπεινότητες, λαμπρότητες, πραότητες, σεμνότητες, ἀλήθειαι, αὐθάδειαι, ἐπιφάνειαι, ἐνδειαί, ἀργαίαι, πένιαι, πλοῦτοι, and φιλανθρωπῳταί. For the comparatively rare use of the pl. abstr. in other authors, see Jelf (Kühner), *Gk. Gr.* § 355. Cf. Zumpt, *Lat. Gr.* § 62.

ἀκριβῶς (ἀπλῶς.) Elaborately (simply. The sense 'loosely,' 'superficially,' given to ἀπλῶς in this passage in Lidd. and Sc. does not suit the context. Cf. *Phil.* § 28, ἀπλῶς) (ταῖς περὶ τὴν λέξιν εὐρυθμίαις κ. ποικιλίαις, § 46, μήτε παντάπασιν ἀπλῶς μήτε λίαν ἀκριβῶς. *Aroφ.* § 41.

ἐπιστάμενον λέγειν || δυνάμενον εἰπεῖν.] λέγειν and εἰπεῖν are almost convertible terms in Isocr., and no contrast between 'arguing acutely and speaking with simplicity' is here intended. In § 10 we have just had ἐπιστάμενον εἰπεῖν, and the collocations δυνάμενος λέγειν and δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν are both used several times in Isocr. without any appreciable distinction. *Ad Dem.* § 41. n.

εἰπεῖν is necessary to complete the parallelism of the sentence, in spite of the severe dictum of Cobet (*nov. lect.* 136): 'ne haec insulse et pueriliter dicta et composita videantur, expunge ultimum vocabulum εἰπεῖν, quod nemo nostrum, nedum Isocrates, in tali re unquam addidisset.'

- τούτους ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὧν ἐγγὺς αὐτοῖς τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐστὶ, τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀποδεχομένους τῶν εἰκῇ λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ δυσχερανούντας, καὶ ζητήσοντας ἰδεῖν τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς, οἷον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν. πρὸς οὓς ἔτι μικρὸν **c** ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ θρασυνάμενος, ἥδη περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ποιή-
I3 σομαι τοὺς λόγους. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις ὁρῶ καταπραΰνοντας τοὺς ἀκροατὰς καὶ προφασίζομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι, καὶ λέγοντας τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐξ ὑπογυίου γέγονεν αὐτοῖς ἢ παρασκευῇ, τοὺς δ' ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν ἴσους τοὺς λόγους τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐξευρεῖν.
I4 ἐγὼ δ' ἦν μὴ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίως εἴπω καὶ τῆς δόξης **d**

The best commentary on τὸν δ' ἀκριβῶς—εἰπεῖν is Isocr. *de Permi.* § 49.

I2. οὐ λεληθασιν, κ.τ.λ.] = δηλοῖ εἶσω ἐπαινοῦντες τούτους τοὺς λόγους (or τοὺς ἀνθρώπους) ὧν, κ.τ.λ. For οὐ λελ. *ἴτι* see *Madv. Synt.* § 177, R. 2.

ἐμοὶ δ'—λόγους.] 'But I have nothing to do with such critics as these, but rather with those who will accept nothing that is said at random, but will fret beneath it, and expect to see something in my speeches of such a character as they will not find elsewhere (lit. among other persons). To these I shall make bold to say somewhat more on my own behalf, and then proceed to direct my words to the actual subject. I see other orators in the exordium of their speeches endeavoring to conciliate their audience . . . and alleging, in some cases, that their preparation has been off-hand, in others, that it is difficult to find words equivalent to the magnitude of the deeds; but as for myself, if I speak not in a manner that is worthy, both of my subject and of my reputation, and of the time, not only which has been spent by me over my speech' [*i. e.* 10(?) years, see *Introd. to Paneg.*], 'but also the whole duration of my past life' [55

years], 'I appeal to you to have no pardon for me but to deride and despise me.'

I3. ῥηθήσεσθαι.] The distinction between the usage of the *fut.* and 3 *fut.* of *εἶρω (in Attic writers) is this: the former is used chiefly in the forms ῥηθήσεσθαι, ῥηθησόμενος, the latter is probably confined to the 3 p. sing. εἰρήσεται.—Veitch, *Gk. Verbs*, p. 205.

ἐξ ὑπογυίου] = ἐκ τοῦ παραχοῦμα. Cf. ἐκ χειρός, offhand (Polybius) ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου, ἐξ ἐτοίμου, and (in § 147) ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ. Jelf (Kühner), *Gk. Gr.* § 523.—Cf. Plato, *Menex.* 235 c. ἐξ ὑπογυίου παντάπασις ἢ αἰρεσις γέγονεν, ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται ὁ λέγων ὥσπερ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν.—In *Euaq.* § 81, we find τὸ ὑπογυῖον (τὸ παλαιόν, *Plataic.* § 17, τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὑπογυῖον (most recent), and *Eph.* 6, § 3, ὑπογυῖον μοι τῆς τελευτῆς οὐσης (=at hand).

ὡς χαλεπὸν κ.τ.λ.] Isocr. elsewhere uses this very plea himself: *Panath.* § 36—38, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ἡλικος ὦν (*an. ael.* 94) ὅσον ἔργον ἐρίσταται τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς καὶ πολλάκις εἰρηκῶς, ὅτι τὰ μὲν μικρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ῥάδιον τοῖς λόγοις αὐξῆσαι, τοῖς δ' υπερβάλλουσι τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει χαλεπὸν ἐξισῶσαι τοὺς ἐπαινους, κ.τ.λ.

τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, μὴ μόνον τοῦ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἡμῖν διατριφέντος ἀλλὰ καὶ σύμπαντος οὐ βεβίωκα, παρακελεύομαι μηδεμίαν συγγνώμην ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καταγελάειν καὶ καταφρονεῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι πάσχειν, εἴπερ μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρων οὕτω μεγάλας ποιοῦμαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις.

- 15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἰδίων ταῦτά μοι προειρήσθω. περὶ δὲ ἐ τῶν κοινῶν, ὅσοι μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπελθόντες διδάσκουσιν ὡς χρὴ διαλυσσάμενους τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον τραπέσθαι, καὶ διεξέρχονται τὰς τε συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένας καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας τὰς ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσομένας, ἀληθῆ μὲν λέγουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ποιοῦνται τὴν ἀρχήν, 44
16 ὅθεν ἂν μάλιστα συστήσῃ ταῦτα δυνηθεῖεν. τῶν γὰρ Ἑλ-
λήνων οἱ μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῖν, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν· αἱ
γὰρ πολιτεῖαι, δι' ὧν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις, οὕτω τοὺς πλεί-
στον αὐτῶν διελιφάσιν. ὅστις οὖν οἴεται τοὺς ἄλλους

ἡμῖν]=ἐμοί, obs. the interchange ἐγώ...ἡμῖν...βεβίωκα ad Dem. § 5. n. Cf. Eur. *Troades* 904, *Ion* 517—565.

μηδεμίαν συγγνώμην ἔ.] Contrast with this de *Perm.* § 9, διόπερ χρὴ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ.

καταγελάειν κ. καταφρονεῖν]=‘despise and despise,’ an instance of ὁμοιοκαταρκτον.

τῶν ἄλλων.] See table of var. readings.

§§ 15—20. *Greece will never be united against Persia until the leading states, Athens and Sparta, are reconciled. In their dispute for supremacy, the difficulty lies, not with Athens, but with Sparta. I propose to prove that the claims of the latter are false, and those of the former true.*

§ 15. ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον.] ‘Against the foreign foe,’ meaning in particular Artaxerxes II. (*Mnem.*), king of Persia. B.C. 406—359.

στρατεία.] ‘Licet *στρατιά* utroque significatu ponatur, ut tum *expeditionem* tum *exercitum* significet; tamen vicissim *στρατεία* nusquam ibi adhibetur, ubi *exercitus* intelligitur

est. Quod ipsum videtur effecisse, ut *στρατιά* maxime de *exercitu* frequentaretur.’ Stallbaum on Plato, *Phaedr.* 260. c. Cf. ad Dem. p. 5. n.

μὲν...οὐ μὴν.] Here, as often, μὲν in the concessive clause is not followed by δὲ in the adversative. Similarly μὲν may be followed by ἀλλὰ, αὖ, μέντοι, ὅμως or any expressed (or even implied) equivalent to δέ.

16. αἱ γὰρ πολιτεῖαι κ.τ.λ.] *i.e.* the constitutions by which the Greek cities are governed, have divided the majority of Greeks into two great sections, into democracies subject to Athens, and oligarchies subject to Lacedaemon.

ὅστις...οἴεται, πρὶν ἂν...] Trans. ‘Whoever therefore thinks that the rest (*i.e.* the subordinate states) will unite in achieving any advantage, before he reconciles those who are set over them, is all too simple and is far from the practical requirements of the case.’ This use of πρὶν ἂν is remarkable: it is almost invariably found after an actual

- κοινῇ τι πράξειν ἀγαθόν, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς προεστῶτας αὐτῶν διαλλάξῃ, λίαν ἀπλῶς ἔχει καὶ πόρρω τῶν πραγμάτων
 17 ἔστί. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν μὴ μόνον ἐπιδείξειν ποιοῦμενον ἀλλὰ b καὶ διαπράξασθαι τι βουλόμενον ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους ζητεῖν, οὔτινες τῷ πόλεε τούτῳ πείσουσιν ἰσομοιρῆσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τὰς θ' ἡγεμονίας διελέσθαι, καὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας, ἃς νῦν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν αὐταῖς γίγνεσθαι,
 18 ταύτας παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ποιήσασθαι. (γ'.) Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ῥάδιον ἐπὶ ταῦτα προαγαγεῖν, Λακε- c δαιμόνιοι δὲ νῦν μὲν ἔτι δυσπείστως ἔχουσι· παρειλήφασι γὰρ ψευδῇ λόγον, ὥς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι πάτριον· ἦν δ' ἐπιδείξῃ τις αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ἡμετέραν οὖσαν μᾶλλον ἢ κείνων, τάχ' ἂν ἐάσαντες τὸ διακριβοῦσθαι περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἔλθοιεν.

or implied negative (e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 175, ἀμύχανον...ἐκμαθεῖν, πρὶν ἂν...φανῇ). The exceptions to this rule are as follows: Simonides of Amorgos (fl. 660 B.C.), φθάσει δὲ τὸν μὲν γήρας ἀγῆλον λαβόν | πρὶν τέρμ' ἔκρηται, and Herodot. VII. 10, ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ ['*ubi si quis diabāllων ἀδικεῖ, nihil aliud esse quam οὐ δίκαιός ἐστι διαβάλλων putaverit, nec me neque sensum obsequentem habebit.*'] From Mr. Shilleto's note on Dem. *Fals. Leg.* § 235]. In the present passage also the rule appears to be disregarded: at the same time it is quite open, to any who care to maintain the rule, to take the clause *λίαν ἀπλῶς ἔχει, κ.τ.λ.*, as equivalent to a negative, e.g. = οὐτε φρονίμως ἔχει οὐτ' ἐγγὺς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστίν. In this case the sense would be: 'whoever thinks that, &c., is not a sensible and practical man, until he has reconciled Athens and Sparta.' The other transl. is however preferable.

17. τῷ πόλεε τούτῳ.] These forms of the fem. dual are supported by the highest MS. authority here and elsewhere in Isocr. (e.g. *de Pace*, § 116). Similarly in §§ 73, 75,

139 we have τοῖν (not ταῖν) πολέων. The statement (in Wordsworth's *Gk. Gr.* &c.) that ὁ and οὗτος sometimes have no separate fem. form of the dual, is likely to mislead: the fact is that the reverse is nearer the truth, the forms τᾶ and ταῦτᾶ being extremely rare. Cobet (*var. lect.* p. 70) goes so far as to say 'in pronominibus, adjectivis, participiis, una atque eadem forma est triplici generi communis, τῶ, ᾧ, αὐτῶ, τούτῳ, ἀλλήλῳ, τῷ χεῖρε, τῷ γυναῖκε cetera. τῷ Ἑλευσινίῳ θεῷ. In participiis res manifesta est: (Hom. *Il.* ix. 455, πληγέντε; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 197, προλιπόντε; Plato, *Phaedr.* 237 D. δύο τινὲ ἰδέα ἄρχοντε καὶ ἄγοντε, οἷν ἐπόμεθα).

ἰσομοιρῆσαι...πλεονεξίας.] *Phil.* § 39. πλεονεκτεῖν (ἰσομοιρῆσαι). In *Phil.* § 9 Isocr. quotes τὰς πλεονεξίας—ποιήσασθαι.

18. δυσπείστως ἔχουσι] almost = δύσπιστοι εἰσι, which may have been avoided *propter hiatus*.

ἢ κείνων.] κείνος is never found in Isocr. except after ἢ. In such cases as the present it is better to prefix a *coronis*, to indicate *prodelision*, than to write ἢ ἐκείνων or ἢ κείνων.

- 19 Ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων συμβουλευεῖν, πρὶν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητούμενων ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξαν· ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν ἀμφοτέρων ἕνεκα προσήκει περὶ ταῦτα ποιήσασθαι τὴν δ πλείστην διατριβὴν, μάλιστα μὲν ἵνα προὔργου τι γένηται καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φιλονικίας κοινῇ τοῖς
20 βαρβάροις πολεμήσωμεν, εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, ἵνα δηλώσω τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ὄντας τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐδαιμονίᾳ, καὶ πᾶσι γένηται φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν δικαίως τῆς θαλάττης ἥρξε, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀμφισβητεῖ
21 τῆς ἡγεμονίας. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ δεῖ τούτους ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ε τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους ὄντας καὶ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἀναμφισβητήτως ἡμῖν προσήκει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἥνπερ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἑτέραν πόλιν ἐπιδείξειε τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ γῆν ὑπερέχουσαν, ὅσον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν
45 22 τοῖς κινδύνοις τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν διαφέρουσιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ τινες ταύτην μὲν μὴ νομίζουσι δικαίαν εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς τὰς μεταβολὰς γίνεσθαι, τὰς γὰρ δυναστείας οὐδέποτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς παραμένειν, ἀξιούσι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι γέρας ἢ τοὺς πρώτους τυχόντας ταύτης

19. ἐχρῆν.] After consonants Isoc. uses ἐχρῆν, after vowels χρῆν or 'χρῆν. In one passage only (*Aegin.* § 3) χρῆν (altered by Bens. into ἐχρῆν, vulg. χρῆ) is found at the beginning of a sentence. (Bens. *Praef.* xxiii.)

πρὶν...ἐδίδαξαν.] *Madv. Synt.* § 114. R. 1. and Goodwin's *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 67. 1.

προὔργου τι.] lit. 'something to the purpose,' 'that some progress may be made.' *Suidas*, προὔργου· πρὸ ἔργου, σύμφορον, πλεόν. Ἰσοκράτης φησὶν, ἵνα προὔργον τι γένηται, ἀντὶ τοῦ πλεόν. Isoc. uses the comp. of προὔργον in § 133 and elsewhere.

φιλονικία.] A different word from φιλονεικία, although L. and S. suppose the former to be only a MS. corruption of the latter. *φιλονικία* is often praiseworthy (*vincendi studium*):

φιλονεικία always the reverse (*certainem significat cum vituperatione quadam*. Baiter).—ad *Dem.* § 31. n.

§§ 21—27. *The supremacy is due to Athens on every ground, whether we look to her antiquity, her power, her grandeur, or her general services to Greece.*

21. οὐδεὶς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Obs. the parallelism of the whole of this sentence.—*διέφερεν* would have been equally correct but less idiomatic: *διαφέρουσιν* is preferred for the sake of the *παρομοίωσις* with *υπερέχουσιν*. For the constr. v. *Madv. Synt.* § 20. R. 3.

22. δυναστείας] = ἡγεμονίας. cf. § 65 and (*Dem.*) *Phil.* iv. § 53, εἰς τσαυτάς δυναστείας δηρημένων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων.

παραμένειν.] *Madv. Synt.* § 163, α.

τῆς τιμῆς ἢ τοὺς πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
 23 ὄντας, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τούτους εἶναι μεθ' ἡμῶν· ὅσα γὰρ ἂν b
 τις πορρωτέρωθεν σκοπῇ περὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων, τοσού-
 τῳ πλεον ἀπολείφομεν τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας περὶ αὐτῶν.
 (δ'.) Ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀρχαιοτάτην
 εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὀνομαστο-
 24 τάτην· οὕτω δὲ καλῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὔσης, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔχο-
 γὰρ οἰκοῦμεν οὐχ ἑτέροους ἐκβαλόντες οὐδ' ἐρήμην καταλα- c
 βόντες οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν μιγάδες συλλεγέντες, ἀλλ'
 οὕτω καλῶς καὶ γνησίως γεγόναμεν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἡσπερ ἔφυμεν,
 ταύτην ἔχοντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦμεν, αὐτόχθονες

μεθ' ἡμῶν.] 'On our side,' not
 'among us'. Cf. §§ 53, 140.

23. πορρωτέρωθεν.] 'From a
 greater distance.' This word has been
 missed by L. and S.; and another
 lexicographer quotes only Theophrastus,
de Sudoribus, § 4. It occurs
 however in three passages of Isocr.
 besides the present; viz. *Archid.*
 § 16, *Panath.* § 120, *de Bigis*, § 4.

πόλιν...ἀρχαιοτάτην.] In Herod.
 VI. 106, on the eve of Marathon,
 the courier Pheidippides gives this
 message to Sparta: 'Men of Lacedaemon,
 the Athenians beseech you
 to hasten to their aid and not allow
 the most ancient city in all Greece
 to fall into bondage at the hands of
 barbarians.'

μεγίστην.] Cf. *de Perm.* § 299,
 καὶ φασιν...μόνην εἶναι ταύτην πόλιν
 τὰς δ' ἄλλας κόμας καὶ δικαίως ἂν
 αὐτὴν ἔστυ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προσαγο-
 ρεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ διὰ
 τὰς εὐπορίας, κ.τ.λ.

περὶ αὐτῶν.] See tab. of var.
 readings.

24. ταύτην—προσῆκει.] 'As for
 this city, which we now inhabit, we
 did not expel others from it, we did
 not find it deserted; we are no motley
 crowd collected out of many
 nations, but are sprung from such
 noble and genuine birth, that we
 continue for all time to hold this

land from which we were born,
 being sons of its very soil, and being
 able to call our city by the same
 names as our nearest relations; for
 we alone of all the Greeks have the
 right to call the same country our
 foster-nurse, our fatherland, and our
 mother also.'

οὐχ ἑτέροους ἐκβαλόντες.] A pass-
 ing blow at the Spartans.

οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν μιγάδες
 κ.τ.λ.] Cf. *Panath.* § 124, 5, ὄντας
 μήτε μιγάδας μήτ' ἐπήλυδας ἀλλὰ
 μόνους αὐτόχθονας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ
 ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν χώραν τροφὴν, ἐξ
 ἡσπερ ἔφυσαν ἡμῖν καὶ στέργοντες
 αὐτὴν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ οἱ βέλτιστοι τοὺς
 πατέρας κ. τὰς μητέρας τὰς αὐτῶν,
 and *de Pace*, § 49. Contrast with
 this the state of Athens under the
 Emp. Tiberius, when Cn. Piso speaks
 of its inhabitants as 'non Athenienses
 tot cladibus extinctos, sed
 colluviem illam nationum.' (Tac.
Ann. II. 55.)

αὐτόχθονες.] 'Aborigines.' A
 similar claim was asserted by the
 Arcadians and the Cynurians (Hdt.
 VIII. 73). As an emblem of being
 αὐτόχθονες and γηγενεῖς, the older
 Athenians used to wear grasshopper
 hair-pins, a custom which Thucy-
 dides (I. 6) describes as having lately
 ceased.—The sentiment of this and
 the next sentence are frequent rhe-

ὄντες καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷσπερ τοὺς οἰκειοτά-
 25 τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες προσειπεῖν· μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὸν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ μητέρα καλέ-
 σαι προσήκει. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς εὐλόγως μέγα φρονούντας
 καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δικαίως ἀμφισβητοῦντας καὶ τῶν d
 πατρίων πολλάκις μεμνημένους, τοιαύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ
 γένους ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι.

26 (έ.) Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξαντα καὶ παρὰ τῆς
 τύχης δωρηθέντα τηλικαῦθ' ἡμῖν τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν· ὅσων
 δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, οὕτως ἂν κάλλιστ'
 ἐξετάσαιμεν, εἰ τὸν τε χρόνον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τὰς πράξεις

torical common-places; e. g. Plato, *Menexenus* (see § 75. n.), p. 237 B, αὐτόχθονας κ. τῷ ὄντι ἐν πατρίδι οἰκοῦντας κ. ζῶντας κ. τρεφομένους οὐχ ὑπὸ μητριῶς ὡς ἄλλοι ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς τῆς χώρας ἐν ᾗ φύκουν, Lysias (?) *Or. Funebr.* § 17, οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν συνειλεγμένοι κ. ἐτέρους ἐκβαλόντες τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν φύκισαν ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες ὄντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτηντο μητέρα κ. πατρίδα. (Demosth.) *Or. Funebr.* § 4, Hype-rid. *Or. Funebr.* Col. 5 (with Prof. C. Babington's n.), and Cic. *pro Flacco*, § 62, *Atheniensium urbs vetustate ea est, ut ipsa ex sese suos cives genuisse dicatur, ut eorum eadem terra parens, altrix, patria dicatur.*

τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους.] Sc. προσαγορεύομεν. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 1153, φίλους νομίζουσ' οὗσπερ ἂν πῶσις σέθεν, sc. νομίζῃ.

προσειπεῖν.] As this aorist has no present of its own, it borrows προσαγορεύω. The parts of προσαγορεύω itself are far from common; in Plato, *Theaet.* 147, we have προσαγορεύσω, in Aesch. *P. V.* 834, προσηγορεύθης ἡ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ, and in two fragments of Comic writers, προσηγορεύθῃ. In Dem. *Boeot.* § 1 and Aristot. *Pol.* 7, 16, 18, we find the subj. προσαγορευθῇ, and, lastly, in Plat. *Phaedo*, 104 A, προσαγορευτέος. Cobet (*var. lect.* p. 35—39) maintains that by classical writers the verb ἀγορεύω is used in the pres.

and impf. only, and that the real tenses and derivatives in use are ἐρῶ, εἶπον, εἶρηκα, εἶρημαι, ἐρρήθην, ῥηθήσομαι· ῥήσις, ῥητός, ῥητέον. This statement will apply very fairly to ἀγορεύω when compounded with ἀπό, διά, ἐκ, κατά, σύν, ὑπό, πρό, but in the case of προσαγορεύω (as Cobet himself confesses) the existence of parts directly formed is established beyond a doubt by the passages above quoted, esp. Aesch. *l. c.* (where προσηγορεύθης cannot possibly be altered into προσερρήθης).—The speech of Aeschines, *adv. Ctesiph.* shews the usage of ἀναγορεύω. The parts there used are ἀναγορεύῃ, ἀνειπεῖν, ἀναρρηθῆναι, ὁ κήρυξ ἀνείπε, followed by καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἀνηγόρευε (?), ἀνερεῖ and ἀνάρρησις. On the whole then, it is better in Greek composition to use the forms -ερῶ, -εἶπον, -εἶρηκα, -εἶρημαι, -ερρήθην, -ρημα, -ρησις, -ρητέος, but at the same time to abstain from accepting dogmatic views on the impossibility of the existence of forms derived from ἀγορεύω. (Partly from Cobet *l. c.* and Veitch, *Gk. Verbs*, s. v. ἀγορεύω.)

26. τηλικαῦτα...τὸ μέγεθος.] This is a more accurate and more common expression than that of § 33, τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος. The regular usage of τοσοῦτος and τηλικούτος may best be learnt from *de Perm.* § 257, τοσοῦτων τὸ πλήθος κ. τηλικούτων τὸ μέγεθος ἀγαθῶν.

- τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἐφεξῆς διέλθοιμεν· εὐρήσομεν γὰρ αὐτὴν **e**
οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινδύνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
27 ἄλλης κατασκευῆς, ἐν ᾗ κατοικοῦμεν καὶ μεθ' ἧς πολιτεύο-
μεθα καὶ δι' ἣν ζῆν δυνάμεθα, σχεδὸν ἀπάσης αἰτίαν οὖσαν.
ἀνάγκη δὲ προαιρεῖσθαι τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν μὴ τὰς διὰ μικρό-
τητα διαλαθούσας καὶ κατασιωπηθείσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς διὰ τὸ **46**
μέγεθος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν καὶ
* πανταχοῦ καὶ λεγομένας καὶ μνημονευόμενας.
28. (ε'.) Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, οὐ πρῶτον ἢ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐδε-

εὐρήσομεν — οὖσαν.] *i. e.* 'we shall find that, not only for the perils of war, but also for nearly the whole of that established order wherein we dwell, and wherewith we enjoy our constitutions, and whereby we are able to live, it is to *Athens* that we owe our gratitude.'

αἰτίαν governs not only τῶν κινδύνων but also τῆς κατασκευῆς, and, if translated literally, would involve a blunder in English, the same in kind but more heinous in degree, than the original blunder into which Isocr. has fallen. He does not mean that Athens 'caused' the perils of war, but that she was the champion of deliverance from those perils: the only defence that can be suggested for this abuse of language is the fact that *αἰτίαν* is quite appropriate to the nearer word *κατασκευῆς*, however inappropriate to the more distant word *κινδύνων*. If a formal explanation is required, we must say that some word suitable to *κινδύνων* must be understood from the word *αἰτίαν*, but, in any case, whether the error is deliberate or accidental, it is none the less a violation of Aristotle's wholesome warning 'against coupling a word with two others which can only with propriety be applied to one of them; as when *ἰδεῖν* is used in construction with *ψόφον* as well as *χρῶμα*, instead of *αἰσθάνεσθαι*, which is common to both.' (*Rhet.* III. 5, Mr Cope's *Introd.* p. 295). The technical name given to this figure is *Zeugma*; the

author who, perhaps, uses it most frequently is Tacitus; *e.g. Ann.* II. 20, *quod arduum sibi* (sc. sumpsit), *cetera legatis permisit.* (Dräger, *Syntax u. Stil des Tac.* § 239, 4.) Cf. § 80, *σωτήρες ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμῶνες ἀποκαλεῖσθαι.* n. [Hirschig places *κινδύνων* in brackets.]

τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς, 'the established order besides.' Cf. *ad Dem.* § 51, τῶν ἄλλων σοφιστῶν. n.

27. ἀνάγκη κ.τ.λ.] Trans. 'But of all benefactions we must needs prefer, *not* those which, by reason of their littleness, fell into oblivion and silence, but those which, by reason of their greatness, are, of old time and in the present day and in every place, both rehearsed and remembered by all the world.'

§§ 28—50. *The arts of Peace, in which Athens has conferred signal blessings on the Grecian world.*

28, 29. *Her liberality with regard to the fruits of the earth, and the Eleusinian mysteries.* 30, 31. *The legend of that liberality is ancient, and therefore (?) credible; and is further confirmed by the annual offering of the First-fruits, and (32, 33) by antecedent probability.* 34—37. *Colonisation.* 38—40. *Legislation and good government.* 41. *Hospitality.* 42. *The establishment of a central emporium.* 43—46. *The attractions and advantages of Athens, her games and festivals; and lastly, 47—50. her practical philosophy and her oratory.*

28. πρῶτον μὲν.] The *δέ* that

ἦθη, δια τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπορίσθη· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυθώδης ὁ λόγος γέγονεν, ὅμως αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ῥηθῆναι προσήκει. Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη τῆς Κόρης ἀρπασθείσης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ^b οἶόν τ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἀκούειν, καὶ δούσης δωρεὰς διττὰς, αἵπερ μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, τοὺς τε καρπούς, οὗ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν, καὶ τὴν τελετὴν, ἧς οἱ μετασχόντες περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τε-

corresponds to this *μέν* may be found in § 34, where it is resumed in the words *περὶ μὲν οὖν*, κ.τ.λ., followed by *περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους*, κ.τ.λ.

καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυθώδης...] Isocr. is not such an implicit believer in mythology as is sometimes asserted (e.g. Grote's *H. G.* I. p. 335, new ed. The passage there quoted from *Philip.* § 33, is, in the best MS. *φασιν, ὡς περ* [not *ὡς περ*] τῶν παλαιῶν πιστεύομεν); cf. *Panath.* § 1, νεώτερος μὲν ὢν προηροῦμην γράφειν τῶν λόγων οὐ τοὺς μυθώδεις οὐδὲ τοὺς τερατείας καὶ ψευδολογίας μεστούς, κ.τ.λ., *Εὐαγ.* § 66, εἰ τοὺς μύθους ἀφέντες τὴν ἀληθείαν σκοποῖμεν... He here tells the story of Demeter with a passing apology, as if conscious of its appropriateness rather than of its truth. An apology similar to this, but implying less reserve, may be noticed in Lysurgus, *adv. Leocratem*, § 95, where he introduces a graceful tale of filial affection, with the words *εἰ γὰρ καὶ μυθωδέστερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀρμόσει καὶ ὑμῶν ἅπασιν τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀκούσαι*.

The legend of Demeter and Persephone (ἡ Κόρη, cf. *Εὐαγ.* § 15) is tastefully told by the writer of the Homeric Hymn *ad Cererem*, by Ovid, *Fasti*, IV. 393—620, and more elaborately by Claudian (4th cent. A.D.), *De raptu Proserpinae libri*, III. It is briefly mentioned by Cicero (*in Verrem*, IV. § 107), whose knowledge of Sicily enables him to give an interesting account of the

traditional scene of Demeter's bereavement. It may be found in a modern form in Barry Cornwall's poems, and in the *Tales of Ancient Greece* (by Mr Cox), p. 30 sqq. and especially p. 402—8.

καρπούς.] Cf. Plato, *Menex.* 237 E, *μόνη γὰρ (ἦδε ἡ γῆ)...καὶ πρώτη τροφήν ἀνθρωπείαν ἤνεγκε τὸν τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν καρπὸν*, κ.τ.λ., (Dem.) *Or. Funer.* § 5, and Lucret. VI. 1, *Primae frugiferarum fetus mortalibus aegris Dididerunt quondam praeclaro nomine Athenae Et recreaverunt vitam legesque rogarunt*.

τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς κ.τ.λ.] For the expression cf. *Nicocl.* § 6, *ἐγγενομένου δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ πέθευν ἀλλήλους καὶ δηλοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, περὶ ὧν ἂν βουλευθῶμεν, οὐ μόνον τοῦ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἀπηλλογήμεν ἀλλὰ* κ.τ.λ., Ovid, *Fasti*, II. 291, *vita feris similis*, &c.

τελετὴν—ἐχουσιν.] 'And that mystic initiation, the partakers of which have hopes that are more pleasant, concerning both the end of their life and all eternity.'

The connection between the mysteries of Eleusis and the great mystery of Death is frequently insisted on, e.g. Homeric Hymn *ad Cererem*. 480, *ὄλβιος, ὅς τάδ' ὅπως ἐπιχθονίαν ἀνθρώπων | ὅς δ' ἀτελής ἱερῶν ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὐποθ' ὁμοίως | αἶσαν ἔχει φθιμένος περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι*. Pindar, *fragm.* 102, *ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν ἐκεῖνα* (sc. τὰ μυστήρια) *| κοίλαν εἶπεν ὑπὸ χθόνα· | οἶδεν μὲν βιότου τελευτὰν | οἶδεν δὲ διδούσαν ἀρχάν*.

λευτῆς καὶ τοῦ συμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίου τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχου-

Soph. *Fragm.* 719 Dind. (ap. Plutarch. *Mor.* p. 21 b) ὡς τρισόλβιοι | κείνοι βροτῶν οὐ ταῦτα δερχόμεντες τέλη | μόλωσ' ἐς Ἄιδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνους ἐκέ | λην ἔστι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις | πάντ' ἐκέ | κακά. Other passages might be quoted, but the most interesting is perhaps the passage cited by Stobaeus, *Flor.* 120, 26, from Themistius (?) (philosopher and rhetorician, fl. 350—390 A.D.). Part of it (τότε δὲ πάσχει—ἐμμένοντα) may be translated as follows: 'Then, in the moment of death, the soul is affected in like manner, as in the initiation into the Great Mysteries. Therefore it is that name answers to name, as well as thing to thing—τελευτᾶν to die, τελεῖσθαι to be initiated. At first, there are wanderings and weary courings to and fro, and, until the consummation, a strange and doubtful marching through the gloom; and then, at the very verge of that consummation, there comes a blending of every horror,—'tis all shivering, trembling, sweating, and affrightment; and after this, a wondrous light bursts forth; and the pure meadows and open plains give their welcome, with minstrelsy and dances and the solemnity of hallowed sounds and saintly visions, wherein he who is now all-perfect and initiated obtains freedom and release at last. He ranges here and there engarlanded, he revels in the sacred mysteries, he shares the companionship of pure and holy men; and anon he looks on earth and contemplates the uninitiated and unpurified crowd of the living—all trampled down and huddled together in the depth of mire and mist, and abiding in their miseries through fear of death and through disbelief in the good things yonder.' In all the above passages (quoted by Lobeck, &c.) the mysteries are viewed in their relation to death, just as in the passage of Isocr. before us. It is however worth noticing (with Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*,

I. p. 70) that Isocr. himself elsewhere attributes the same reward of pleasant hopes to *all* who live in justice and piety, *de Pace*, § 34, ὁρῶ γὰρ... τοὺς μετ' εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ζῶντας ἐν τε τοῖς παρούσι χρόνοις ἀσφαλῶς διαγόντας καὶ περὶ τοῦ συμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίου τοὺς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντας.

With regard to the nature and object of the Eleusinian mysteries much controversy has been waged. Whether they came from Egypt, and taught the doctrine of a future state (as Warburton believed)—whether they formed the relic of a revealed religion and remained as a protest against the Polytheism of Greece (as Faber conjectured)—whether they had a semi-sacramental import—whether they formed a kind of aristocracy of religion which incidentally became a safety valve for a dangerous scepticism—all these questions and others have been the subject of deep debate. A less ambitious view is that stated by Gibbon, who apprehended that in the mysteries there was no hidden meaning to conceal, and therefore nothing for modern ingenuity to discover; by De Quincey, who characterizes them 'as a gigantic hoax, the great and illustrious humbug of ancient history;' and by Lobeck, whose masterly book has demolished many of the baseless theories that have been built on the Orphic, Samothracian, and Eleusinian mysteries. For more or less full accounts of the general subject or the special ceremonies attending initiation see *Dict. Antiq. s.v. Eleusinia*; Warburton's *Divine Legation*, Bk. II. c. 4; G. S. Faber's *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, Bk. v. c. 6; Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, II. p. 500; De Quincey, *On Secret Societies*; Lobeck's *Aglaoph.* I. i—228; Appendix to Kennedy's *Trans. of Demosth. Lept. &c.* p. 287—297; Grote, *H. G. I.* p. 359, new ed.; Milman's *Hist. of Chris. I.* i; and *Journal of Philology*, I. p. 9.

- 29 σιν, οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλαν-
θρώπως ἔσχεν, ὥστε κυρία γενομένη τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν οὐκ c
ἐφθόνησε τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ὦν ἔλαβεν ἅπασιν μετέδωκεν.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν δείκνυμεν,
τῶν δὲ συλλήβδην τὰς τε χρείας καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας καὶ τὰς
30 ὠφελείας τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένας ἐδίδαξεν. καὶ τούτοις
ἀπιστεῖν μικρῶν ἔτι προστεθέντων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀξιώσειεν.
(ζ'.) Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις καταφρονήσῃ τῶν λε-
γομένων ὡς ἀρχαίων ὄντων, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων εἰκότως d
ἂν καὶ τὰς πράξεις γεγενῆσθαι νομίσειεν· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολ-
λοὺς εἰρηκέναι καὶ πάντας ἀκηκοέναι προσήκει μὴ καινὰ
μὲν, πιστὰ δὲ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν. ἔπειτ'
οὐ μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταφυγεῖν ἔχομεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν
φήμην ἐκ πολλοῦ παρειλήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σημείοις μεί-
31 ζοσιν ἢ τούτοις ἔστιν ἡμῖν χρήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. αἱ μὲν
γὰρ πλείους τῶν πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐερ- e
γασίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς
ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσι, ταῖς δ' ἐκλείπουσας πολλάκις ἢ Πυθία
προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς
τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πάτρια. καίτοι περὶ τίνων χρή 47
μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἢ περὶ ὧν ὁ τε θεὸς ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πολλοῖς

29. θεοφιλῶς.....φιλανθρώπως.]
Obs. the formation of these two
compounds and distinguish carefully
between *θεοφιλής* (= beloved of God)
and *φιλόθεος* (= loving God).

οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Plat.
Menex. 238 A. τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ καρποῦ
οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ἀλλ' ἔνευμε καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις. Cic. *pro Flacco*, § 62, *Ad-*
sunt Athenienses unde humanitas,
doctrina, religio, fruges, iura, leges
ortae, atque in omnes terras distri-
butae pulantur.

τὰ μὲν...] Sc. τῶν ἀγαθῶν, re-
ferring especially to the Eleusinian
mysteries.

καθ' ἕκ. κ. ἐν. δείκνυμεν.] The
great mysteries were celebrated every
year in Boëdromion (August) and
lasted nine days.—*δείκνυμεν* is a word
frequently used of these mysteries,

cf. e.g. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3, 6 (quoted
by Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 51). λέγε-
ται Τριπτόλεμος... τὰ Δημητρός καὶ
Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρώτοις ξένοις
δεῖξαι Ἑρακλεῖ τε καὶ Διοσκῶρι.—
v. § 157. n.

31. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείους κ.τ.λ.]
All. to the Proërosia, a sacrifice of-
fered to Demeter at the time of
seed-sowing. See *Dict. of Antiq.* s.v.
Schn. quotes the following *scholium*
on Aristoph. *Plut.* 1054, οἱ μὲν φασιν
ὅτι λιμοῦ, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅτι λοιμοῦ πάσαν
τὴν γῆν κατασχόντος, ὁ θεὸς εἶπε
προηροσίαν τῇ Διοῦ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων
θῆσαι θυσίαν Ἀθηναίους. οὐδ' ἕνεκα
χριστήρια πανταχόθεν ἐκπέμπονται
Ἀθήνας τῶν καρπῶν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς.
Cf. Lycurg. *Fragm.* xv. 9 (BS.
oratt. Attici).

- τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνδοκεῖ, καὶ τὰ τε πάλαι ῥηθέντα τοῖς παρ-
 οὔσιν ἔργοις συμμαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενα τοῖς ὑπ'
 32 ἐκείνων εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖ; (ἡ'). Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, ἣν
 ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἑάσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς σκοπῶμεν, εὐρήσο-
 μεν, ὅτι τὸν βίον οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ εὐθὺς
 οὕτως ὥσπερ νῦν ἔχοντα κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν
 αὐτοὶ συνεπορίσαντο. τίνας οὖν χρή μᾶλλον νομίζεν ἡ b
 33 δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν λαβεῖν ἢ ζητούντας αὐτοὺς ἐντυ-
 χεῖν; οὐ τοὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογουμένους καὶ πρῶτους
 γενομένους καὶ πρὸς τε τὰς τέχνας εὐφυστάτους ὄντας
 καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβέστατα διακειμένους; καὶ
 μὴν ὅσης προσήκει τιμῆς τυγχάνειν τοὺς τηλικούτων ἀγα-
 θῶν αἰτίους, περιέργου διδάσκειν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο
 δωρεὰν τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος εὐρεῖν, ἥ τις ἴση τοῖς πεπραγ-
 μένοις ἐστίν.
 34 (θ'). Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν εὐεργετημάτων καὶ c

τά τε πάλαι κ.τ.λ.] Obs. the varied antithesis of this sentence.

32. τὸν βίον κ.τ.λ.] Cf. the long description given by Lucretius (v. 780—1457) of the gradual growth of the infant world (*mundi novitas*) and its inhabitants. οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν may be paralleled by Lucretius' adverb *minutatim* (used several times in the above passage) and especially by ll. 1452, 3, '*usus et impigrae simul experientia mentis Paulatim docuit pedetemtum progredientis*.'

33. ὁμολογουμένους.] ὁμολογεῖσθαι generally takes the inf. and not the participle. The former construction is always found in Isocr. except in this passage; hence Wolf proposed to read ὁμολογουμένως, an adverb frequently used by our author, and this reading is approved by Baiter, who quotes especially Andoc. I. § 140, παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογουμένως. The participial constr. is found in Lysias, (περὶ τραυμάτος, § 7, νῦν δ' ὁμολογούμεθα πρὸς παῖδας κ. ἀλλη-τριδας κ. μετ' ὁνόν ἐλθόντες); Isaeus, *de Philoct.* hered. § 49, οὕτως ὁμολογον-

μένη οὕσα δούλη κ. ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον αἰσχροῦς βιοῦσα and *ib.* § 46. [Chiefly from Weber (Dem. *Aristocr.* § 74. n.) who says '*ὁμολογεῖσθαι non raro in participio exhibitum, sed saepe in libris per ὁμολογουμένους obliteratum*']. In the present passage I prefer (with BS Bens. Schn. and others) accepting the MS reading ὁμολογουμένους which must then be construed with the three *participles* γενομένους, ὄν-τας, διακειμένους. Trans. 'those who are by all acknowledged both to have been the first to exist and to be, &c.'

34—37. These §§ refer to the memorable Ionic Emigration which is commonly assigned to 1044 B.C. The Abantes of Euboea, the Cadmeans and Minyae of Boeotia, the Phocians and the Athenians are said to have taken part in this expedition. In the current legend, the honour of planting the Asiatic Ionic cities is assigned to two sons of Codrus, Androclus the founder of Ephesus and Neleus of Miletus. These two towns—the greatest of the ten continental Ionic cities—are both described as found-

πρώτου γενομένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινοτάτου ταύτ' εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν. περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὁρώσα τοὺς μὲν βαρβαροὺς την πλείστην τῆς χώρας κατέχοντας, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας εἰς μικρὸν τόπον κατακεκλειμένους καὶ διὰ σπανιότητα τῆς γῆς ἐπιβουλεύοντάς τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατείας ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ποιουμένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν, 35 τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολλυμένους, οὐδὲ ταύθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνας εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἐξέπεμψεν, οἱ παραλαβόντες τοὺς μάλιστα βίου δεομένους, στρατηγὸν καταστάντες αὐτῶν καὶ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους, πολλὰς μὲν ἐφ' ἐκατέρας τῆς ἡπείρου πόλεις ἔκτισαν, ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς νήσους κατῴκισαν, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ καὶ τοὺς

ed directly from Athens. (See Grote's *Hist. of Gr.* P. II. c. 13.) The peopling of the Cyclades (ἀπάσας τὰς νήσους), especially of Naxos, Ceos, Siphnos, Seriphos, was also ascribed to the Ionic migration. This great movement took place under the general auspices of Athens, and was the means of providing a livelihood for many distressed and discontented exiles from the Peloponnesus. (Thuc. I. 2, 6, καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ὕστερον, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὐσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν.)

περὶ δὲ κ. τ. λ.] The following words form the frame-work of the sentence: ὁρώσα τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους... τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας... (τοὺς μὲν... τοὺς δὲ...), οὐδὲ ταῦτα περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνας ἐξέπεμψεν, οἱ παραλαβόντες κ. τ. λ., πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις ἔκτισαν, ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς νήσους κατῴκισαν.

τὴν πλείστην τῆς χώρας.] Cf. § 132, τὴν πλείστην αὐτῆς, *Evag.* § 41, τὸν πλείστον τοῦ χρόνου, Jelf (Kühner), *Gk. Gr.* § 442 c.

σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.] Almost = ἀλλήλους. Isocr. frequently uses a *reflexive* instead of a *reciprocal* pronoun. It is often found with the reciprocal in the immediate context, and is sometimes adopted only to secure an even balance of clauses (*παρίσωσις*). Cf. §§ 15, 43, ἡμᾶς αὐτούς... ἀλλήλους, § 85, ἀλλήλους... σφᾶς αὐτούς, §§ 3,

106, 131, 166, 173, 174. For other authors, cf. Dem. *Phil.* I. § 10, ἡ βούλεσθε... περιύοντες αὐτῶν (= 'one another') *πυνθάνεσθαι* 'λέγεται τι καιρόν,' *De Cor.* § 19, Xen. *Mem.* III. 5, 16, φθονοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς μάλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, cet.—Suidas, *Lexic.*, ἑαυτοὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσιν.—v. Jelf (Kühner), *Gk. Gr.* § 654, 3.

35. ἐφ' ἐκατέρας τῆς ἡπείρου.] 'On both continents,' i.e. Europe and Asia. Similar phrases may be found in *Panath.* §§ 44, 166; cf. § 179. n. The allusion to the Asiatic Colonies has been already explained; by the cities built in Europe, Isocr. possibly means the colonies founded by Miletus on the W. shore of the Euxine. These colonies would, as usual, regard *Athens* as their mother-state. At the same time, it is probable that Isocr. may be referring by an inaccurate anticipation to the later colonies of Thurii and Amphipolis, founded by Athens in the fifth century.

ἀμφοτέρους—ἐπὶ ὁρίσαν.] Arist. (*Rhet.* III. 9, 7) quotes this sentence as an instance of *ἀντικειμένη λέξις*, 'in which the parts are balanced, contrasted, set over against one another... The antithesis may be conveyed in two ways: either by balancing opposite by opposite in

- 36 ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας ἔσωσαν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἱκανὴν τὴν οἶκον χώραν κατέλιπον, τοῖς δὲ πλείω τῆς εὐπαρχούσης ἐπόρισαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ περιεβάλοντο τὸν τόπον, ὃν νῦν τυγχάνομεν κατέχοντες. ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον βουληθεῖσιν ἀποικίσαι τινὰς, καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν, πολλὴν ῥαστώνην ἐποίησαν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει κτωμένους χώραν διακινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν 48
- 37 ἀφορισθεῖσαν, εἰς ταύτην οἰκεῖν ἰόντας. καίτοι τίς ἂν ταύτης ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιδείξειεν ἢ πατριωτέραν τῆς πρότερον γενομένης πρὶν τὰς πλείστας οἰκισθῆναι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἢ μᾶλλον συμφέρουσαν τῆς τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἀναστάτους ποιησάσης, τοὺς δ' Ἑλλήνας εἰς τοσαύτην εὐπορίαν προαγαγούσης;
- 38 (ι.) Οὐ τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μέγιστα συνδιέπραξε, τῶν

the two contrasted members; or by uniting two opposites as it were under the *vinculum* of a single word, as two opposite substantives or participles by a verb' (*paraphr. of l. c. from Mr Cope's Introd. p. 314*); ἐναντία, ὑπομονή, ἀκολουθήσεις· ἱκανὸν, πλεον.

36. τοῖς ὕστερον κ.τ.λ.] alludes to the Dorian emigration and *not* to the Aeolic, which *preceded* the Ionic. v. Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, Pt. I. c. 18, Pt. II. c. 13, 14, 15.

ἀφορισθεῖσαν.] Rauchenstein adopts *πορισθεῖσαν* (cf. *supr. ἐπόρισαν*), the ingenious emendation of Halbertsma and Meyler. Bens. and Schn. retain the MS reading, which is perfectly intelligible.

ταύτης ἡγεμονίαν κ.τ.λ.] ταύτης is emphatic. The more usual construction would have been either ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας, or ἡγεμονίαν... ἢ πατριωτέραν ταύτης τῆς κ.τ.λ. For a very similar sentence cf. *Arceor.* § 27, καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις εὖροι ταύτης βεβαιωτέραν ἢ δικαιοτέραν δημοκρατίαν τῆς... καθιστάσης.

ἀναστάτους ποιησάσης.] The word *ἀνάστατος* is used by Isocr. in at least 30 passages, which may be classified under four heads. It is applied (1) to a 'city' (= 'ruined,'

'dismantled') in *Paneg.* §§ 98, 117, 126, 181, and about 15 passages in other writings; (2) to 'inhabitants' (= 'driven from house and home'), e.g. *βάρβαροι* as here, and *ἄμοροι* § 108 *cet.*; (3) to 'districts' (= 'devastated'), §§ 141, 161, 169; (4) to 'households' ('made desolate'). Cf. esp. *Archid.* § 66 (a passage of peculiarly varied vocabulary): οὐδεμία γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀκέραιος, οὐδ' ἦτις οὐχ ὁμόρους ἔχει τοὺς κακῶς ποιήσοντας, ὥστε τετμήσθαι μὲν τὰς χώρας, πεπορθῆσθαι δὲ τὰς πόλεις, ἀναστάτους δὲ γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους, ἀεστροάφθαι δὲ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ καταλελύσθαι τοὺς νόμους. (Partly from Bens. *Arceor.* § 6. n.)

38. οὐ τοίνυν—λοιπῶν.] Trans. 'and after she had aided in accomplishing the greatest things, she did not proceed to neglect the rest, but she made such a beginning of her benefactions (namely, the supply of sustenance to those in need), as is right for those to make, who intend, in other good things also, to exercise a good control; and considering that existence, based on these conditions only, falls short of being worthy of the desire of life, she therefore paid such heed to the remainder also, that, &c.'

ἄλλων ὠλιγορῃσεν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ταύτην ἐποιήσατο ^b
 τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, τροφὴν τοῖς δεομένοις εὐρεῖν, ἥνπερ χρὴ
 τοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν καλῶς διοική-
 σειν, ἡγουμένη δὲ τὸν βίον τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις μόνου οὐπω
 τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀξίως ἔχειν οὕτως ἐπεμελήθη καὶ τῶν
 λοιπῶν, ὥστε τῶν παρόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα
 μὴ παρὰ θεῶν ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γέγονε,
 μηδὲν μὲν ἄνευ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας εἶναι, τὰ δὲ
 39 πλείστα διὰ ταύτην γεγενῆσθαι. παραλαβοῦσα γὰρ τοὺς ^c
 "Ελληνας ἀνόμως ζῶντας καὶ σποράδην οἰκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν ὑπὸ δυναστεῶν ὑβρίζομένους, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀναρχίαν
 ἀπολλυμένους, καὶ τούτων τῶν κακῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπῆλλαξε,
 τῶν μὲν κυρία γενομένη, τοῖς δ' αὐτὴν παράδειγμα
 ποιήσασα· πρώτη γὰρ καὶ νόμους ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν
 40 κατεστήσατο. δῆλον δ' ἐκείθεν· οἱ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ

εὐρεῖν.] 'Non video satis, qui locus hic sit infinitivo: itaque malim eūrōssa.' Morus. But the sequence εὐροῦσα, ἥνπερ could not, I think, have been written by Isocr. (*propter hiatus*); and the Inf. can be explained as an inf. in *apposition* to ἀρχὴν τ. τῶν εὐεργ. Cf. *Enag.* § 28, λαβὼν ταύτην ἀφορμὴν, ἀμύνεσθαι κ. μὴ προτέρους ὑπάρχειν, *Hel.* § 20, νομίζων ὀφείλειν τοῦτον τὸν ἔρανον, μηδενὸς ἀποστῆναι (quoted by Coray and Spohn), and Plato, *Apol.* p. 23 A, δνομα δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι (sc. ἐμέ), σάφος εἶναι. *Madv. Synl.* § 190.

ἥνπερ χρὴ.] Sc. ποιήσασθαι. The antecedent of ἥνπερ is ἀρχήν.

καλῶν καλῶς.] This is a very common collocation. Cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 253, τὸ κανοῖν καλὴ καλῶς οἴσεις, also κακὸς κακῶς (e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 1035, δόσω κακὰν κακῶς κακοῖς), λαμπρὸς λαμπρῶς, πάντες πάντως, and in Lat. *misero misere* (Lucr. III. 898), often in Plautus, e.g. *doc-tum docite, bonus bonis bene feceris*: and, for one of many English instances, Shak. *Rich. III.* v. 1, *Bloody and guilty guiltily awake*. (Partly from Iobcock, *Paralip.* p. 58.)

BS omit καλῶν.—Bens. (with

Codd. Urb. and Ambros.) inserts it.

39. σποράδην.] One of the many adverbs in -δην. Cf. φοράδην, λογάδην, σύρδην, φύρδην, βάδην, ἀριστινδην. For the phraseology cf. *Hel.* § 35 (of Theseus), τὴν πόλιν σποράδην κ. κατὰ κόμας οἰκοῦσαν εἰς ταυτὸν συνήγαγε, and Thuc. II. 15.

νόμους ἔθετο.] Observe the regular usage: (ἡ πόλις) ἔθετο τὸν νόμον· (ὁ νομοθέτης) ἔθηκε τὸν νόμον· ὁ νόμος ἐτέθη. Cf. *ad Dem.* § 36, κειμένους. n. and *de Perm.* § 83, νόμους τιθέναι... τῶν κειμένων.

40. ἐν ἀρχῇ.] 'In the beginning,' 'in the earliest times.' In Dobree's *Adversaria*, Vol. I. p. 265, we find the brief confession, *Non intelligo*. In a case where Dobree is doubtful, no one can afford to be overconfident, but the passage apparently refers to the traditional and mythical antiquity of various Athenian courts of homicide and especially of the Areopagus. The ancient glories of that tribunal are mentioned by Demosthenes (*Aristocr.* § 65) as follows: 'There are many institutions among us of a character not to be found elsewhere, but one there is,

τῶν φονικῶν ἐγκαλέσαντες καὶ βουλευθέντες μετὰ λόγου δ καὶ μὴ μετὰ βίας διαλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις τὰς κρίσεις ἐποιήσαντο περὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν τὰς τε πρὸς τὰναγκαλὰ τοῦ

the most peculiar of all, and the most highly venerable, the court of Areopagus; respecting which we have more glorious traditions and myths, and more honourable testimonies of our own, than we have of any other tribunal; of which it is proper you should hear one or two by way of sample (δείγματος ἕνεκα). In ancient times, as we are informed by tradition, the Gods in this tribunal alone deigned both to demand and to render justice for murder, and to sit in judgment upon disputes between each other; so says the legend: Poseidon demanded justice of Ares on behalf of his son Halirrhothius, and the twelve Gods sat in judgment between the Furies and Orestes.' (Mainly from C. R. Kennedy).—In § 81 Dem. speaks of the 5 courts in which homicide was tried (τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, τὸ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ, τὸ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ, τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ) as δικαστήρια, ἃ θεοὶ κατέδειξαν (see *Paneg.* § 47. n.) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται πάντα τὸν χρόνον, and in § 70 he speaks of the founders of the Areop. as οἱ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ νόμῳ διαθέντες, οἳ τινὲς ποτ' ἦσαν, εἰθ' ἦρως εἶτε θεοί. According to Aeschylus (*Eum.* 682, πρῶτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἵματος χυνοῦ) the first trial for homicide held at Athens was that of Orestes; but Hellanicus, a contemporary of Aeschylus, states that the Areop. had awarded sentence to many other heroes and even gods before him. The sanctity of that court made its verdicts respected throughout Greece, and before the first Messenian war the Messenians proposed to refer the points at issue to its decision, on the ground that, from of old, it had had jurisdiction in cases of homicide.

(Pausanias, IV. 5, § 1, ὅτι δίκας τὰς φονικὰς...ἐδόκει δικάζειν ἐκ παλαιού.) (On the Areop., besides the *locus classicus* quoted from Dem., cf. Isocr. *Areop.* §§ 37—55, and Aesch. *Eum. passim*, with Müller's dissertation, §§ 64—73). For an allusion to the general claim asserted by Isocr. cf. Aelian (fl. c. 250 A. D.), *varia historia*, III. § 38, δίκας τε δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν εὖρον Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι.

μετὰ λόγου καὶ μὴ.] ἀλλὰ μὴ would have been more idiomatic (cf. *ad Dem.* § 2. n.), but this is avoided *propter hiatus*.

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις.] Cf. Thuc. I. 77, παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις.

τῶν τεχνῶν κ.τ.λ.] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VII. 194sq. (quoted by Schn.) gives a long list of Athenian discoveries in art: 'Brick-kilns (*laterariae*) and houses were first set up at Athens by the brothers Euryalus and Hyperbius; silver was discovered by Erichthonius of Athens; potteries (*figlinae*) invented by Coroebus; carpentry (*fabrica materiaria*), including the saw, the axe, the plummet, the gimlet, as well as glue and isinglass (*ichthyocolia*) by Daedalus; the culture of the vine and of trees by Eumolpus of Athens; olive-oil and oil-mills, as well as honey, by Aristaeus of Athens; the use of the hoe and the plough by Buzyges (= Βουζύγης) of Athens; &c. &c.

Aelian, *var. hist.* III. § 38, states that to Athens the world was beholden for the olive and the fig; for administration of justice; for athletics and chariot-driving; and a well-known passage in Milton, *Par. Reg.* IV. 240, speaks of 'Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence.'

βίου χρησίμας καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἡδονὴν μεμηχανημένας, τὰς μὲν εὐρούσα, τὰς δὲ δοκιμάσασα χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις
 41 παρέδωκεν. (ιδ.) Τὴν τοίνυν ἄλλην διοίκησιν οὕτω φιλο-
 ξένως κατεσκευάσατο καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας οἰκείως ὥστε καὶ ε
 τοῖς χρημάτων δεομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἀρμόττειν, καὶ μήτε τοῖς
 εὐδαιμονοῦσι μήτε τοῖς δυστυχοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀχρή-
 στως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐκατέροις αὐτῶν εἶναι παρ' ἡμῖν, τοῖς
 μὲν ἡδίστας διατριβάς, τοῖς δ' ἀσφαλεστάτην καταφυγὴν.
 42 ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη κεκτημένων ἐκάστων, ἀλλὰ 4
 τὰ μὲν ἐλλείπουσαν, τὰ δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν φέρουσαν,
 καὶ πολλῆς ἀπορίας οὐσης τὰ μὲν ὅπου χρῆ διαθέσθαι,
 τὰ δ' ὀπόθεν εἰσαγαγέσθαι, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς συμφοραῖς
 ἐπήμυνεν ἐμπόριον γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν Πειραιᾶ
 κατεσκευάσατο, τοσαύτην ἔχουθ' ὑπερβολὴν, ὥσθ' ἂ παρὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐν παρ' ἐκάστων χαλεπὸν ἐστι λαβεῖν, ταῦθ'
 ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥάδιον εἶναι πορίσασθαι. b

τὰς μὲν εὐρούσα κ.τ.λ.] In *Panath.* § 202, Isocr. tells us of one of his pupils, who had the assurance to claim a similar merit for Lacedaemon (ἔτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὐρόντες αὐτοὶ τε χρώνται κ. τοῖς ἄλλοις κατέδειξαν); he denounces the claim as ἀσεβῆ καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ πολλῶν ἐναντιώσεων ὑεστόν, and proceeds to confute it at length, § 204 sqq.

41. τοῖς χρημάτων δεομένοις—τοῖς δυστυχοῦσιν.] Obs. the Chiasmus, or inverted parallelism (v. *ad Dem.* § 7. n.).

ἡδίστας διατριβάς.] Aelian *var. hist.* XII. § 46, records a saying of Isocrates, part of which may be quoted to illustrate this passage, τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐνεπιδημήσαι μὲν εἶναι ἡδίστην, καὶ κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαφέρειν ἐνοικῆσαι δὲ ἀσφαλὴ μὴκέτι εἶναι.

διατριβή = 'pastime,' διατρίβειν with or without χρόνον = *terere* or *conterere tempus*. The same idea

may be noticed in Shak. *Taming of Shrew*, I. 2, fin. *Please ye we may contrive this afternoon, And quaff carouses.* And in Churchyard's *Worthiness of Wales*, p. 110, *With ewe and lambe, with goats and kids they play, With greatest toils to rub out weary day.*

42. διαθέσθαι] = 'to dispose of,' 'to distribute,' 'to sell.' Cf. Xen. *de Rep. Ath.* II. 11, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον μόνον οἷοί τ' εἶσιν ἔχειν (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι)... εἰ γὰρ τις πόλις πλουτεῖ ξύλοις νανπηγησίμοις, ποῖ διαθήσεται ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς θαλάττης; Sim. διάθεσις = 'disposal,' Isocr. *Bisiris*, § 14, τῇ τῶν ὄντων διαθέσει καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐλλειπόντων κομῳδῇ.

Πειραιᾶ.] On the Peiraeus, the great port of Athens, see Leake's *Athens*, I. § 9. The particular part of the Peiraeus where the merchandise of many nations was exhibited, was called the Δεῖγμα or exchange.

ἂ—πορίσασθαι.] Obs. the elaborate parallelism, ἂ || ταῦθ', παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων || παρ' αὐτῆς, ἐν || ἅπαντα, χα-

- 43 (ιβ'.) Τῶν τοίνυν τὰς πανηγύρεις καταστησάντων δια-
 καίως ἐπαινουμένων, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν,
 ὥστε σπεισασμένους καὶ τὰς ἐχθρας τὰς ἐνεσθηκυίας δια-
 λυσασμένους, συνελθεῖν εἰς ταῦτον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐχὰς καὶ
 θυσίας κοινὰς ποιησασμένους ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν τῆς συγ-
 γενείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπαρχούσης, εὐμενεστέως δ'
 εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὰς c
 44 τε παλαιὰς ξενίας ἀνανεώσασθαι καὶ καινὰς ἐτέρας ποιή-
 σασθαι, καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἰδιώταις μήτε τοῖς διενεγκούσι τὴν
 φύσιν ἀργὸν εἶναι τὴν διατριβὴν, ἀλλ' ἀθροισθέντων τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰς αὐτῶν

λεπὴν) (ῥάδιον, and λαβεῖν || πορίσασθαι. For an equally elaborate sentence, v. Dem. *Lept.* § 26, *παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν δαπάνας ἡμέρας μέρος μικρὸν ἢ χάρις τοῖς θεωμένοις ἡμῶν, παρὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀφθονίας πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἢ σωτηρία πᾶσιν τῇ πόλει.*

43. τῶν τοίνυν—ἀπελείφθη.] This long sentence can easily be unravelled by noticing that it commences with a gen. absolute, introducing the reason why those who first instituted general assemblies are well worthy of praise. This is followed by an exhaustive summary of the characteristics of *πανηγύρεις*, introduced with ὥστε and not concluded until near the end of § 44; after this summary is finished, Isocr. gathers up all the threads of the sentence in the clause *τοσούτων τοίνυν ἀγαθῶν—γεννομένων* (which throws us back to *τοίνυν* at the beginning of § 43), and then concludes with the principal vb. contained in οὐδ' ἐν τοῦτοις ἢ π. ἡμ. ἀπελείφθη.

πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς,] = ἀλλήλους, cf. § 34, σφίσι αὐτοῖς, n.

44. ἰδιώταις.] The term *ιδιώτης* (= a non-professional man, an amateur) is essentially *negative*, and its exact meaning has constantly to be determined from the context. The only English word that in any de-

gree covers the same ground is the word 'layman,' in contrast to 'lawyer,' 'physician,' 'artist,' 'poet,' as well as to 'clergyman.' The following passages may help to indicate the various points of negative contrast in which the *ιδιώτης* may be placed: *Nicocl.* § 17, πρότερον ἰδιώταις γίνονται πρὶν ἀσθῆσθαι τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ λαβεῖν ἐμπειρίαν αὐτῶν, *ib.* § 35, τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις. *De perm.* § 69, τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις. *Paneg.* § 11, ἰδιώταις = 'ordinary heavers') ('true critics.' Thuc. II. 48, *ιστρός καὶ ιδιώτης*. Plato, *Protag.* 327 C, op. to *ἀλητής*, *de legg.* p. 800 A, op. to *ποιητής*, and (for a more general instance) *Sophist.* 221 C, op. to *τιῶν τέχνην ἔχων*.

In the present passage the contrast is drawn between the ordinary man and professional gymnast. Cf. Plato *Legg.* VIII. 839 E, εἰ δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων καὶ μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς ἢ φαύλως.

The word 'idiot' occasionally retains in old English the meaning of *ιδιώτης*. This is partly to be ascribed to the influence of the Latin Vulgate. Cf. Wiclif's Trans. of 1 Cor. xiv. 16 (and 23), *Who fillith the place of an idiot; how schal he siee amen on thi blessing?* Jeremy Taylor, *'Humility is a duty in great ones, as well as in idiots.'* (See further, Trench, *Select Glossary*, s.v.)

εὐτυχίας, τοῖς δὲ θεάσασθαι τ' ὑποὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζομένους, καὶ μηδετέρους ἀθύμως διάγειν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρους ἔχειν, ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ὅταν ἴδωσι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς αὐτῶν ἕνεκα ποιοῦν **ας**, οἱ δ' ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν ἤκουσι,—τοσοῦτων τοίνυν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τὰς συνόδους ἡμῶν γυμνομένων οὐδ' ἐν 45 τούτοις ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη. καὶ γὰρ θεάματα πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἐκέκτηται, τὰ ἐν ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερβάλλοντα, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας εὐδοκιμοῦντα, τὰ δ' ἀμφοτέρους τούτοις διαφέροντα, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσαφικνουμένων ὡς ἡμῶς τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥστ' εἴ τι ἐν τῇ πλησιάξειν ἀλλήλοις ἀγαθόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς περιειληφθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ φιλίας εὐρεῖν πιστοτάτας καὶ συνου-

οἱ μὲν... οἱ δ'.] We might have expected either (1) τοὺς μὲν... τοὺς δὲ (in app. to ἑκατέρους), or (2) ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἴδωσι... οἱ δ' ἐνθυμηθῶσι, but Isocr. here prefers blending the order of (1) with the construction of (2).

αὐτῶν.] The reflex. pron. does not refer to ποιοῦντας, but to the subject of ἴδωσι. 'On their behalf,' i.e. on behalf of the spectators; not only to amuse those who were either unable or unwilling to join in the athletic contests, but also to be the representative champions, whose victory (as Pindar is constantly telling us) threw a reflected glory on the various cities to which the spectators belonged.

σφετέραν θεωρίαν.] poss. pron. in the same sense as the objective genitive. Madv. *Synt.* § 67. b.

45. καὶ γὰρ θεάματα κ.τ.λ.] A rapid enumeration of the leading attractions of Athenian πανηγύρεις, esp. of the *Panathenaea*, and the *Dionysia*, with their shows, their dances, their processions and their gymnastic and intellectual contests.

The word *θεάματα* refers not merely (as explained by Schn., who lays perhaps too much stress on *ἐκέκτηται*) to the Parthenon, the Poecile, the public buildings, and

similar 'sights,' but also to the 'spectacles,' the games, the magnificent processions, and the general amusements which characterized the πανηγύρεις. The special 'sights' of the πανηγύρεις, besides those mentioned in the rest of this §, included the exhibition of menageries of bears and lions, as attested by Isocr. *de Perm.* § 213, καθ' ἑκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν θεωροῦντες ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι [corrected by Dr. Thompson (*Journ. of Class. and Sac. Phil.* no. xi. p. 151) into θεάμασι. May not the vulg., which is retained by Bens., be defended by the immediate context *θαυμάσειε τὰς πραότητας... τῶν θηρίων?*] τοὺς μὲν λέοντας πραότερον διακειμένους... τὰς δ' ἀρκτοὺς καλινδουμένας καὶ παλαιούσας καὶ μιμουμένας τὰς ἡμέτερας ἐπιστήμας.

τὸ δὲ πλῆθος κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Dem. *Mid.* § 217, ἐν πανηγύρει... τοὺς ἐπιδηήσαντας ἅπαντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων. See Becker's *Charicles*, scene x.

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'And in addition to this, it is *our* city that provides the best opportunities for forming the most trustworthy friendships and meeting with the most varied kinds of intercourse; and also for beholding contests, not only of speed and might, but also of speech and mind, and of all other things

σίαις ἐντυχεῖν παντοδαπωτάταις μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἔτι δ' ἀγῶνας ἰδεῖν, μὴ μόνον τάχους καὶ ῥώμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ 50 λόγων καὶ γνώμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀπάντων, καὶ 46 τούτων ἄθλα μέγιστα. πρὸς γὰρ οἷς αὕτη τίθησι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδόναι συναναπείθει· τὰ γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν κριθέντα τοσαύτην λαμβάνει δόξαν ὥστε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαπᾶσθαι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πανηγύρεις διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου συλλεγεῖσθαι ταχέως διεκλύθησαν, ἡ δ' ὅς ἡμετέρα πόλις ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις πανηγυρὶς ἔστιν.

47 (ὑγ.) Φιλοσοφίαν τοῖνυν, ἡ πάντα ταῦτα συνεξεύρε καὶ συγκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρὸς τε τὰς πράξεις ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσεν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπράυνε, καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν τὰς τε δι' ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γιγνομένας διεῖλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν φυλάξασθαι, τὰς δὲ καλῶς ἐνεργεῖν ἐδίδαξεν, ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν

besides, with the grandest prizes for them all.'

παντοδαπωτάταις.] Cf. *de Perm.* § 295, γυμνάσια πλείστα καὶ παντοδαπώτατα. This is the reading of the best MSS. The superlative of this word is often altered by transcribers into the positive: 'sciendum librarios adjectivū παντοδαπὸς graduī superlativo adeo se ubique locorum gessisse inimicos, vix usquam ut nullis librorum dissensionibus compareat.' Dindorf (*ap. Bens. Praef.* xv.)

ῥώμης] (γνώμης.) Obs. the παρονομασία. Cf. Agathon (tragedian; died 400 B.C.) *ap. Stob. flor.* 54, 4, γνώμη δὲ κρείσσειν ἔστιν ἢ ῥώμη χερῶν, Epigram on Demosthenes (died 322 B.C.) *ap. Plut. vit. Dem.* § 30, εἶπερ ἴσῃν ῥώμην γνώμην, Δημοσθένης, εἶχες, οὐποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξεν Ἀρης Μακεδῶν (Oh! had thy might and mind been one, Greece had ne'er bowed to Macedon).—v. also the fragm. of Gorgias in *BS oratores Att.* II. p. 129. This affectation is common in Isocr. e.g. § 186, φήμην καὶ μνήμην, *Areop.* § 35, κτήσεις... χρήσεις.

The contrast between 'physical' and 'intellectual' contests is usually

expressed by the phrases ἀγῶνες γυμνικοί (μουσικοί or more frequently μουσικῆς, *Arist. Plut.* 1160, *Plat. Menex.* 249 B and C.

On these contests see *Dielt. Antiq.* art. *Panathenaea*, *Dionysia*. The intellectual amusements included rhetorical disputations, like the *Paneg.* and *Panathenaic* speeches of Isocr.

46. αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι κ.τ.λ.] e.g. the Olympic and Pythian games, held once only in four years.

διεκλύθησαν... ἔστι.] Cf. *ad Dem.* § 6, ἀνῆλθον... ἔστιν. n.

47. φιλοσοφίαν—ἐντίμους ἐν-τας.] The principal verbs are κατέδειξε... ἐτίμησεν. The following words form the skeleton of the sentence: φιλοσοφίαν (ἡ κ.τ.λ.) ἡ πόλις κατέδειξε καὶ λόγους ἐτίμησεν, (ὡν κ.τ.λ.) συνειδύα μὲν, ὅτι κ.τ.λ., ὁρῶσα δὲ κ.τ.λ.

φιλοσοφίαν.] *ζ.ε.* 'practical philosophy.' *de Perm.* § 266, φιλοσοφίαν οὐκ οἶμαι δέιν προσαγορεῖν τὴν μὴ δὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μήτε πρὸς τὸ λέγειν μήτε πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ὠφελοῦσαι. v. 9. § n.

κατέδειξε, καὶ λόγους ἐτίμησεν, ὧν πάντες μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, c
 48 τοῖς δ' ἐπισταμένοις φθονοῦσι, συνειδυῖα μὲν ὅτι τοῦτο
 μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ζώων ἴδιον ἔφυσεν ἔχοντες, καὶ διότι
 τούτῳ πλεονεκτήσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν αὐτῶν διη-
 νέγκαμεν, ὁρώσα δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις οὕτω παρα-
 χῶδεις οὖσας τὰς τύχας ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ τοὺς
 φρονίμους ἀτυχεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους κατορθοῦν, τῶν δὲ
 49 λόγων τῶν καλῶς καὶ τεχνικῶς ἐχόντων οὐ μετὸν τοῖς φαύ-
 λους, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς εὖ φρονούσης ἔργον ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς τε d
 σοφούς καὶ τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ταύτῃ πλείστον
 ἀλλήλων διαφέροντας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλευθέρως
 τεθραμμένους ἐκ μὲν ἀνδρίας καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων
 ἀγαθῶν οὐ γιγνωσκομένους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λεγομένων μάλιστα
 καταφανεῖς γιγνωμένους, καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον τῆς παιδεί-
 σεως ἡμῶν ἐκάστου πιστότατον ἀποδεδειγμένον, καὶ τοὺς
 λόγῳ καλῶς χρωμένους οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν δυναμένους, e
 50 ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐντίμους ὄντας. τοσοῦτον δ'
 ἀπολέλοιπεν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν περὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ὥσθ' οἱ ταύτης μαθηταὶ τῶν ἄλλων

κατέδειξε.] 'Hac vi docendi, seu institutiendi, frequentissimum. Dem. Aristocr. § 11, ὁ τὰς ἀγνωτάτας τελετὰς καταδείξας 'Ορφ. ὅς.' Weber on Dem. Aristocr. § 81 (quoted in § 40, ἐν ἀρχῇ. n.).

πάντες....φθονοῦσι.] Isocr. frequently speaks of his envious rivals, e.g. Phil. § 11...ὁρῶν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἔστι περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπάρθαι δύο λόγους ἀνεκτῶς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐκδοθεῖς (sc. ὁ πανηγυρικός) οὕτως ἢ γεγραμμένους ὥστε τοὺς βασκαίνοντας ἡμᾶς (cf. ad Dem. § 5. n.) μμεῖσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν αὐτὸν μᾶλλον τῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπαυνοῦντων.

48. τοῦτο μόνον κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Nicocl. §§ 6, 7.—On ζῶων v. Cobet, nov. lect. 284.

καὶ διότι.] This is the reading of Codd. Urb. Ambr. Viçt. and is adopted by Bens. as well as BS.—Becker and Dindf. read καὶ ὅτι. It is only when a hiatus is avoided by the use of διότι instead of ὅτι, that

Isocr. prefers the former, e.g. Platonic. § 23, φανερόν εἶναι διότι, and esp. Lochit. § 7, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι... καὶ διότι κ.τ.λ.—The word is constantly used by Isocr. in the same sense as ὅτι, and yet Henr. Stephens appealed to this very use of διότι in the old editions of Ep. ad Dem. § 48, to prove its spuriousness.

πολλάκις—κατορθοῦν.] Quoted by Arist. Rhet. III. 9, as an instance of ἀντικειμένη λέξις (v. § 35, ἀμφοτέρους—ἐπόρισαν. n.)

ἀτυχεῖν(κατορθοῦν.) v. § 6, κατορθωθῇ. n.

ψυχῆς εὖ φρονούσης.] For the sense cf. Quintil. Inst. orat. proem. Oratorem institutus illum perfectum, qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest.

50. οἱ ταύτης μαθηταὶ κ.τ.λ.] Cf. de Perm. §§ 295—6, esp. ἅπαντας τοὺς λέγειν ὄντας δεινούς τῆς πόλεως εἶναι μαθητάς, Thuc. II. 41, ξυνελών λέγω τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς

διδάσκαλοι γεγονάσι, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποίηκε 51
μηκέτι τοῦ γένους ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μάλ-
λον Ἑλληνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδείσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας
ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας.

51 (ιδ.) "Ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶ περὶ τὰ μέρη διατρίβειν ὑπὲρ
ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑποθέμενος μὴδ' ἐκ τούτων ἐγκω-
μιάζειν τὴν πόλιν ἀπορῶν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὴν ἐπαι-

Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι, and Plato, *Protag.* 337 D, (Hippias *log.*) τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρυτανεῖον τῆς σοφίας.

τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα.] τῶν Ἑλλ. is the gen. of definition, used instead of a noun in apposition. In Eng. we can say either 'the name of Greeks,' or less frequently 'the name Greeks.' In Gk. both forms are found; (1) Isocr. *Archid.* § 110, τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ὄνομα, and (2) Plat. *Rep.* p. 369 C, ταύτῃ τῇ ξυνοικίᾳ ἐθέμεθα πόλιν ἔνομα (quoted by Schn.). Similarly in Lat. the words *vox*, *nomen*, *verbum* often take a gen. of definition, e.g. Cic. *de fin.* II. 2, *haec vox voluptatis* (=this word 'pleasure'), II. 24, *nomen amicitiae* (=the name 'friendship'), and Tac. *Germ.* 2, *vocabulum Germaniae* (=the term G.)—v. Zumpt, *Lat. Gr.* § 425 and Mr Mayor on Cic. *Phil.* II. § 78, *causam amoris*. n.

§§ 51—98. *The deeds of War, for which Athens deserves the supremacy.*

I. 51—65. *Wars with Greeks.*

II. 66—70. *Wars with Barbarians of the mythical period.*

III. 71—98. *Wars with Barbarians of historical times.*

I. *Wars with Greeks.* 51—53. *Athens—the disinterested champion of the oppressed.* 54—60. *Her character and power displayed in reference to the appeal of Adrastus and of the Heraclidae.* 61. *The help given to the Heraclidae formed the foundation of the prosperity of Sparta.* 62. *The ingratitude of that state towards her deliverer.* 63. *Even omitting that consideration, it cannot be an ancestral institution for the supre-*

macy to belong to the Spartans, rather than to the Athenians; to an invading nation, rather than to aboriginal inhabitants; to those who were suppliants, rather than to those who befriended them. 64, 65. *In brief, Argos, Thebes, Lacedaemon, were then, as now, the greatest states of Greece, excepting Athens. We were either the champions or the victors of each of these states; and therefore we have the clearest claim to the supremacy.*

51. ὑποθέμενος.] sc. ἐρεῖν. v. table of var. readings.

ἐγκωμιάζειν.....ἐπαινεῖν.] 'Eulogize'... 'praise.' According to Aristot. *Rhet.* I. 9, 33, 34, and elsewhere, there is a real distinction between ἐπαινος and ἐγκώμιον. The former is 'the expression of moral approbation, and therefore is referred principally to motives and character: the object of the latter is facts, acts realized; the virtue is included by implication, but is here secondary and non-essential' (Mr Cope's *Introd.* p. 215). The object of ἐπαινος is πράξεις, the object of ἐγκώμιον is πράγματα, ἔργα. This distinction is a favourite topic with Greek Rhetoricians in general (see Index to Spengel's *Rhet. Graec.*), and Isocr. partially recognises it in the present passage. As a general rule however he uses the words convertibly, e.g. *Paneg.* § 186, *Archid.* § 100, *Helen.* §§ 14, 15, *Philip.* §§ 146, 147. In all these passages the two words and their corresponding verbs are apparently used indiscriminately. Cf. Plat. *Protag.* 326 A, πολλοὶ διέξοδοι κ. ἐπαινοὶ κ. ἐγκώμια παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.

νεῖν, ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιού- **Ε**
 τοις φιλοτιμουμένους· ἡγοῦμαι δὲ τοῖς προγόνους ἡμῶν οὐχ
 ἥττον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων τιμᾶσθαι προσήκειν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων
 52 εὐεργεσιῶν. οὐ γὰρ μικροὺς οὐδ' ὀλίγους οὐδ' ἀφανεῖς ἀγῶνας
 ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ δεινούς καὶ μεγάλους, τοὺς μὲν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευ-
 θερίας· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν κοινὴν τὴν πόλιν **ς**
 παρέχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἀεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαμύ-
 53 νουσιν. διὸ δὴ καὶ κατηγοροῦσί τινας ἡμῶν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
 βουλευομένων, ὅτι τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους εἰθίσμεθα θεραπεύειν,
 ὥσπερ οὐ μετὰ τῶν ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένων ἡμᾶς τοὺς λόγους
 ὄντας τοὺς τοιούτους. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅσον διαφέρουσιν
 αἱ μείζους τῶν συμμαχιῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, οὕτως ἐβου-
 λευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβέστερον **δ**
 εἰδότες τὰ συμβαίνοντ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅμως ἡρούμεθα τοῖς
 ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον βοθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
 κρεῖττοσι τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἕνεκα συναδικεῖν.
 54 (ιέ.) Γνωίη δ' ἂν τις καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τὴν

ἡγοῦμαι κ.τ.λ.] All the following sections, ending with § 99, are quoted by Isocr. himself, with some slight variations, which will be occasionally noticed, in the speech *de Perm.* § 59, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς παραγραφῆς [sc. ἀπὸ τῆς γραμμῆς ἣν μεχρὶ νῦν παράγραφον καλοῦμεν. Harpocr. Lex.] ἀνάγνωθι τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς. The long quotation is introduced by a short summary of the drift of the *Paneg.*, which is quoted on p. 42.

52. μικροὺς...ὀλίγους...ἀφανεῖς.] Correspond roughly to μεγάλους...πολλοὺς...δεινούς. The inverted parallelism is only partially preserved.

τοῖς ἀδικ. ἀεὶ κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'Champion of those of the Greeks who, in each successive instance, are the victims of injustice.' For this common use of ἀεὶ (=from time to time), cf. Dem. *Lept.* 463 A, τοὺς ἀεὶ (in each successive year) λειτουργοῦντας, and Plato, *Phaedrus*, 242 B, ἀεὶ δέ μ'

ἐπίσχει [sc. τὸ δαυμόνιον] δ' ἂν μέλλω πράττειν (v. Dr Thompson's n.).

53. τοὺς ἀσθ...θεραπεύειν.] Cf. Plat. *Menex.* 244 E, εἰ τις βούλοιο τῆς πόλεως κατηγορῆσαι δικαίως, τοῦτ' ἂν μόνον λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν κατηγοροί, ὡς ἀεὶ Ἰλιαν φιλοκτιρμῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ ἥττονος θεραπείας, and Dem. *Lept.* 458 § 3. As instances in which Athens helped the weak against the strong, we have her support of the Heraclidae against Argos (§ 54 sqq.), the Ionians against Darius (500 B.C.), the Corcyraeans against Corinth (432), and the Egætaeans against Syracuse (415).

ὥσπερ κ.τ.λ.] v. § 11, ὥσπερ. n.
 54. ῥώμην.] In the corresponding passage of *de Perm.* the vulg. reading is γνώμην, which Havet (p. 200) wrongly calls 'bien préférable, d'après la suite des idées.' The reading adopted in the text is not only supported by MSS., but is in accordance with the sense of § 57.

τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ἱκετειῶν, ἃς ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῖν ἐποιήσαντο. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἢ νεωστὶ γεγεννημένας ἢ περὶ μικρῶν ἐλθούσας παραλείψω· πολὺ δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ δίκαιον τὰς πίστεις λαμβάνειν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφισβη-
 55 τοῦντας, ἦλθον οἱ θ' Ἡρακλέους παῖδες καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ Θήβας δεδυστυχηκώς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ τελευτήσαντας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἀνελεσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀξιών βοηθεῖν ταῖς κοιναῖς τύχαις

ἱκετειῶν ἄς...] ὧν, attracted into the same case as *ἱκετειῶν*, would have been more idiomatic, but *ἄς* is equally correct. Compare Dem. *Aristocr.* § 215, περὶ τῶν νόμων ὧν παραγεγράμμεθα with *Androt.* § 34, περὶ τῶν νόμων οὓς παραγεγράμμεθα.

οἱ θ' Ἡρακλέους παῖδες καὶ... Ἄδραστος... οὗτος μὲν... οἱ δ' Ἡρακλέους παῖδες.] Obs. the inverted parallelism or *Chiasmus*, a figure of speech which is applied not merely to single words (cf. *ad Dem.* § 7. n.), but also (as here) to whole clauses. This artistic arrangement allows the stronger point to be mentioned first, the weaker second; then follows an expansion of the second point, and, lastly, an effective exposition of the first.

The more obvious arrangement is adopted, when there is no sufficient object to be gained in departing from it (*e.g.* § 58). The Scholiast on Isocrates, *Archid.* § 42, &c., singularly enough, calls this inartistic sequence of clauses by the name of τετράκωλος περίοδος χιαστή, a name which ought to be applied only to cases of 'introverted parallelism.'

On the Heraclidae and Adrastus see *Class. Dict.*; Isocr. *Philip.* § 33, 34; Lysias (?) *Or. Funer.* § 7—16; Plato, *Menex.* 239 B, &c.

55. τὴν δὲ πόλιν κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Lysias (?) *Or. Funer.* § 9, πατρίου τιμῆς ἀνυχίσαντες κ. Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου στερηθέντες κ. κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμαρ-

τηκότες. The resemblance between this speech and the Funeral Oration of Lysias is, perhaps, too close to be merely accidental. The genuineness of the speech ascribed to Lysias, is often disputed. It is accepted by Fr. Schlegel, Stallbaum, and Otfried Müller (*Hist. Gr. Lit.* chap. xxxv. § 3); and rejected by Valckenaer, F.A. Wolf, and Dobree (*adv.* i. init.) The argument from the difference of style and from the fact that Lysias (not being an Athenian citizen) could not have delivered the oration is not, I think, in itself conclusive. If Lysias wrote the oration at all, he must have written it before 378 B.C. and probably soon after 394 B.C.; in which case Isocr. may have read it before publishing the *Paneg.* in 380 B.C. If this be true, I can propose nothing save the hypothesis of a common source to save Isocr. from the charge of having, in this and several other passages (§ 86—98), borrowed from Lysias. On the whole, however, I confess that the general argument for the spuriousness of the Funeral Oration is too strong to be lightly set aside.—We are expressly told of this resemblance by Pseudo-Plutarch (*Isocr.* p. 239) and the rhetorician Theon (*Progymn.* i. 155, Walz.) εὐροῖς δ' ἂν καὶ παρὰ Ἰσοκρά. εἰ ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τὰ ἐν τῷ Λυσίου ἐπιταφίῳ καὶ τῷ [Γοργίου co j. Pfund] Ὀλυμπικῷ.

καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀποθνήσκοντας ἀτά-
 56 φους γιγνομένους μηδὲ παλαιὸν ἔθος καὶ πάτριον νόμον
 καταλυόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἑρακλέους παῖδες φεύγοντες τὴν Εὐ-
 ρυσθέως ἔχθραν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ὑπερορῶντες ὡς
 οὐκ ἂν δυναμένας βοηθῆσαι ταῖς αὐτῶν συμφοραῖς, τὴν δ' b
 ἡμετέραν ἱκανὴν νομίζοντες εἶναι μόνην ἀποδοῦναι χάριν
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους εὐεργέτησεν.
 57 ἐκ δὴ τούτων ῥάδιον κατιδεῖν, ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν χρό-
 νον ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡγεμονικῶς εἶχε· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἰκετεύειν
 τολμήσειεν ἢ τοὺς ἥττους αὐτοῦ ἢ τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέροις ὄντας,
 παραλιπὼν τοὺς μείζω δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ
 πραγμάτων οὐκ ἰδίῳν ἀλλὰ κοινῶν καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδένας

ἀποθνήσκοντας.] On the usage of
 θνήσκειν (common in Tragic verse)
 and ἀποθνήσκειν (frequent in Comedy
 and Attic prose) see Veitch, *Gk.*
Verbs, 273—277. The simple form
 τέθνηκα is used (in prose and verse)
 as the pf. of both verbs. Cobet,
nov. lect. p. 29, 'Constanter ἀπο-
 θνήσκω, ἀποθανοῦμαι, ἀποθανεῖν ρο-
 pulus dicebat, relinquens θνήσκω,...
 θανοῦμαι, καθ'αυτοῦμαι, θανεῖν, καθ'αυ-
 νεῖν *Tragicis, qui populares illas*
formas numquam usurpabant: at
omnes pariter dicebant τέθνηκα, τεθνά-
να, τεθνεὼς quae forma numquam
componitur.'

57 τίς τολμήσειεν αὐτοῦ.]
 The reading of cod. Urb. (followed by
 BS) is αὐτοῦ, that of the cod. Ambr.
 (followed by Bens.) αὐτῶν. The
 reading adopted by Bens. may pos-
 sibly be the original reading, and
 (besides avoiding a hiatus) accounts
 for the MS. variation αὐτοῦ, which
 Bens. would probably attribute to a
 desire to assimilate the pronoun to
 its supposed antecedent τίς. Ac-
 cording to his earlier view αὐτῶν=
 Θηβαίων· according to his later view
 it is a partitive genitive, referring
 partially to τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, and
 meaning, 'unter ihnen, den Helle-
 nen;' and this is perhaps a reason-
 able explanation. The sense gained
 by retaining αὐτῶν is simple but

very weak. Havet (p. 201) refers
 αὐτῶν (*sic*) to the plural idea in-
 volved in the word τίς, and thinks
 that the slight harshness of this
 construction led to variations in the
 MSS., e.g. *τίς...τολμήσειεν...αὐ-*
τῶν and *τίς...τολμήσειεν...αὐτοῦ*.
 Schn. cuts the knot by reading ἀλ-
 λων, and Rauchenstein says of αὐ-
 τοῦ 'es ist wegen des Hiatus und
 wegen des Sinnes mehr als ver-
 dächtigt' and prints τοὺς ἥττους [αὐ-
 τοῦ]. If a still bolder treatment
 of the passage is necessary, it is
 worth while to draw attention to
 the suspicious reiteration, Η ΤΟΥÇ
 ΗΤΤΟΥÇ· Η ΤΟΥÇ and to suggest
 that Η ΤΟΥÇ ΗΤΤΟΥÇ ΔΥΤΟΥ Η
 may be a corruption of ΗΓΟΥΝ
 ΗΤΤΟΥÇ ΔΥΤΩΝ, a marginal ex-
 planation of τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέροις ὄντας.
 (For equally puerile explanations
 see the Scholia, printed in Coray's
 ed. I. p. 440—448.) The original
 reading on this hypothesis will be
 τίς γὰρ ἂν ἰκετεύειν τολμήσειε τοὺς
 ὑφ' ἐτέροις ὄντας, παραλιπὼν τοὺς
 μείζω δύναμιν ἔχοντας;

οὐδένας.] The pl. of οὐδεὶς is not
 very common. For another instance
 see *de Perm.* § 281 (quoted on p.
 39). Ast's *Lex.* supplies only four
 instances in Plato.

ἄλλους εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιμεληθῆναι πλὴν τοὺς προεστάναι τῶν
 58 Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦντας. ἔπειτ' οὐδὲ ψευσθέντες φαίνονται
 τῶν ἐλπίδων, δι' ἃς κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν.
 ἀνελόμενοι γὰρ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν τελευτησάντων πρὸς
 Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους πρὸς τὴν
 Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἠνάγκασαν δ
 ἀποδοῦναι θάψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς προσήκουσι, Πελοπον-
 νησίων δὲ τοῖς μετ' Εὐρυσθέως εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν εἰσβα-
 λόντας ἐπεξελθόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι καὶ κτείνου τῆς ὕ-
 59 βρεως ἔπαυσαν. θαυμαζόμενοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις
 ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐδοκίμησαν. οὐ γὰρ παρὰ
 μικρὸν ἐποίησαν ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον τὰς τύχας ἐκατέρων μετήλ-
 λαξαν, ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν ἰκετεύειν ἡμᾶς ἀξιόσας βία τῶν ἐχθρῶν ε
 ἄπανθ' ὅσων ἐδεήθη διαπραξάμενος, ἀπήλθεν, Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ
 βιάσασθαι προσδοκήσας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος γενόμενος ἰκέτης
 60 ἠναγκάσθη καταστῆναι, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπερενεγκόντι τὴν ἀν-
 θρωπίνην φύσιν, ὃς ἐκ Διὸς μὲν γεγωνῶς, ἔτι δὲ θνητὸς ὦν
 θεοῦ ῥώμην ἔσχε, τοῦτ' μὲν ἐπιτάττων καὶ λυμαινόμενος

58. ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἠνάγκα-
 σαν κ.τ.λ.] In *Panath.* § 168—171, Isocr. gives a very different account. Here, he speaks of armed force; there, of an embassy (ὁ δῆμος ἐπεμψε πρεσβείαν). He is perfectly conscious of the discrepancy, and meets the objection as follows: οὐδένα νομίζω τῶν ταῦτα συνιδεῖν ἂν δυνηθέντων τοσαύτης ἀμαθίας εἶναι καὶ φθίνου μεστέον, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ με καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἠγγήσαιο τότε μὲν ἐκείνως, νῦν δ' οὕτω διαλεχθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οἷδ' ὅτι καλῶς γέγραφα καὶ συμφερόντως. The startling serenity of this passage is remarkable, even in a speech which has been recently characterized as a 'wonderful effusion of senile self-complacency.' (Dr Thompson's *Phaedrus*, p. 177.)

ἀποδοῦναι θάψαι.] Madv. *Synt.* § 148 b, Goodwin's *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 97.

The account of this event, given

by the Athenians in Herodot. (ix. 27) is as follows: 'When the Argives led their troops with Polynices against Thebes, and were slain and refused burial, it is our boast that we went out against the Cadmeians, recovered the bodies, and buried them at Eleusis in our own territory.' (From Rawlinson).

δο τῷ μὲν...τούτῳ μὲν.] The first μὲν (followed by a parenthetical μὲν and δέ) is immediately resumed in the words τούτῳ μὲν. *Evag.* § 25, ὅσα μὲν...ταῦτα μὲν κ.τ.λ. *Areop.* § 47, παρ' οἷς μὲν...παρὰ τοὺτους μὲν ὅπου δέ...ἐνταῦθα δέ. See Madv. *Synt.* § 188, 4 and Buttman's *Midias*, Exc. xii. § 3.

ἐπιτάττων κ. λυμαινόμενος.] The first of these words governs the dat., the second almost always the acc. In two passages of Isocr. (*de perm.* § 119, *Nicocl.* § 18), λυμαίνεσθαι, governs the dat. but in the present instance τούτῳ is governed by ἐπιτάτ-

ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσεν, ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξήμαρτεν εἰς τοσαύτην κατέστη μεταβολήν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου γεγόμενος ἐπονειδίστως τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν.

- 61 (15'.) Πολλῶν δ' ὑπαρχουσῶν ἡμῖν εὐεργεσιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν περὶ ταύτης μόνῃς μοι συμβέβηκεν εἰπεῖν· ἀφορμὴν γὰρ λαβόντες τὴν δι' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς γενομένην σωτηρίαν οἱ πρόγονοι μὲν τῶν νῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι βασιλευόντων, ἔκγονοι δ' Ἡρακλέους, κατήλθον μὲν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, κατέσχον δ' Ἄργος καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Μεσσηνίην, οἰκισταὶ δὲ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν παρόντων
- 62 ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπάντων ἀρχηγοὶ κατέστησαν. ὧν ἐχρῆν ἐκείνους μεμνημένους μηδέποτ' εἰς τὴν χώραν ταύτην εἰσβάλλειν, ἐξ ἧς ὀρμηθέντες τοσαύτην εὐδαιμονίαν κατεκτήσαντο, μηδ' εἰς κινδύνους καθιστάναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους προκινδυνεύσασαν, μηδὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνου γεγονόσι διδόναι τὴν βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῷ γένει
- 63 τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτίαν οὖσαν δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς ἀξιούν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς χάριτας καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικείας ἀνελόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν, οὐ δὴ πού πάλιν ἐστὶν ἡγείσθαι τοὺς ἐπήλυδας τῶν αὐτοχθόνων, οὐδὲ τοὺς εὖ παθόντας τῶν εὖ ποιησάντων, αὐ
- 64 οὐδὲ τοὺς ἰκέτας γενομένους τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων. (15'.) Ἐτι δὲ συντομώτερον ἔχω δηλῶσαι περὶ αὐτῶν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων χωρὶς τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἄργος καὶ Θήβαι καὶ Λακεδαίμων καὶ τότε ἦσαν μέγιστα καὶ νῦν ἔτι διατε-

των, and the second participle serves simply as a quasi-adverb to define the first, cf. § 6, σκοπεῖν κ. φιλοσοφεῖν, n.

61. κατήλθον.] 'Returned.' This word (like κατιέναι, and κάθοδος,) is frequently used of 'return from exile.' The passage usually quoted to illustrate this meaning is Aristoph. *Kan.* 1152—1169, where Aeschylus recites from his *Choëphorae*, the line ἥκω γὰρ εἰς γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι. Euripides accuses his rival of tautology; and Aesch. defends himself as follows: ἐλθεῖν μὲν εἰς γῆν ἔσθ' ὅτῳ μετ' ἡ πάρος | χωρὶς γὰρ

ἄλλης συμφορᾶς ἐλήλυθεν | φεύγων δ' ἀνὴρ ἥκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται.

κατήλθον...κατέσχον...κατέστησαν...κατεκτήσαντο...καθιστάναι.] The reiteration of κατὰ in these compounds is probably intentional.

62 εἰσβάλλειν.] e.g. in the Peloponnesian war.

τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου—τὴν βασιλείαν.] The constitution of Lacedaemon consisted, in part, of two hereditary kings, descended from Eurysthenes and Procles, the twin sons of Aristodemus, the great-great-grandson of Hercules.

λουσιν. φαίνονται δ' ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τοσοῦτον ἀπάντων διενεγκόντες, [ὥσθ'] ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἀργείων δυστυχησάντων 65 Βαίους, ὅτε μέγιστον ἐφρόνησαν, ἐπιτάττοντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελο-ε ποννησίους μαχη κρατήσαντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα κινδύνων τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων διασώσαντες, ὥστε περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δυναστείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξαι δυνηθείη. 66 (ἡ.) Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους 54 τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένων προσήκειν εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν λόγον κατεστησάμην περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνους. ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν ἐξαριθμῶν τοὺς κινδύνους λίαν

64. φαίνονται... τοσοῦτον... διενεγκόντες, ὥστε... ἐπιτάττοντες... κρατήσαντες... διασώσαντες, ὥστε κ.τ.λ.] The irregularity of this sentence has been often noticed. Its peculiarity consists in the recurrence of ὥστε near the close, as well as near the beginning of the sentence. This eccentricity may be treated in one of two ways, (1) by the excision of the first ὥστε, (2) by allowing both to stand, and attempting to explain them. The first of these methods is adopted by Coray, Morus, Auger and Rauchenstein; the second by Wolf, Spohn, Baiter and Schneider. If we adopt (2), two courses are open; either (α) to place a full stop at διασώσαντες, in which case ἐπιτάττοντες, κρατήσαντες, διασώσαντες would have to be explained as 'attracted' to the participle διενεγκόντες. cf. Isaeus *de Astyrbh. hered.* § 16, (quoted by Spohn) ἐπιδείξω γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐχθιστον ἀπάντων ὄντα Ἀστυρίλων Κλέωνι, καὶ οὕτω σφόδρα καὶ δικαίως μισοῦντα τοῦτον, ὥστε πολλὸν ἂν θάπτον διαθέμενον μηδὲνα ποτὲ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ οἰκείων διαλεχθῆναι Κλέωνι, μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τοῦτον υἱὸν ποισσάμενον, or (β) to suppose that the writer allows the sentence to carry him away for a short time until he recovers himself by repeating the first ὥστε, which enables

him to gather up the sense and to conclude the whole sentence in a regular manner. The meaning would then be: 'Our ancestors are proved to have excelled all of these to so great a degree, that, (in as much as they laid down the law for the Thebans, &c. &c.), that, I say, so far as regards their supremacy among the Greeks, I know not how one can display a clearer argument than this.' If the first ὥστε must be retained, I prefer proposing (β) to adopting (α). Other suggestions might easily be recorded, but after a careful consideration of all the explanations of the double ὥστε, I feel convinced that Isocrates is very unlikely to have adopted such an awkward construction. I prefer, therefore, to place ὥστε in brackets and to attribute its existence in the MSS to a desire, on the part of the copyists, to supply an immediate correlative to τοσοῦτον, instead of waiting for the distant ὥστε, which is its real correlative.

II. §§ 66—70. *Wars with Barbarians of the Mythical period, especially the Thracians and the Scythians.*

66. ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καλ.] ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ is more common but less forcible. καὶ emphasizes τὸν λόγον.

- ἂν μακρολογοίην· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων στὰς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον πειράσσομαι καὶ περὶ τούτων
 67 διελθεῖν. ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχικώτατα μὲν τῶν γενῶν καὶ μεγίστας β
 δυναστείας ἔχοντα Σκύθαι καὶ Θρᾷκες καὶ Πέρσαι, τυγχάνουσι δ' οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς ἅπαντας τούτους διακινδυνεύσασα. καίτοι τί λοιπὸν ἔσται τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν, ἣν ἐπιδειχθῶσι τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τυγχάνειν τῶν δικαίων ἡμᾶς ἰκετεῦν ἀξιοῦντες, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ βουλομένοι καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πρώτους ἰόντες; c
 68 (ιθ'.) Ἐπιφανέστατος μὲν οὖν τῶν πολέμων ὁ Περσικὸς γέγονεν, οὐ μὴν ἐλάττω τεκμήρια τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἔργων ἔστι τοῖς περὶ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν. ἔτι γὰρ ταπεινῆς οὕσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦλθον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν Θρᾷκες μὲν μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Σκύθαι δὲ μετ'

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων στάς.] The codd. Urb. and Ambr. 1 omit *στάς*, the codd. Vat. and Ambr. 2, and (in the twin passage in the speech *De permutatione*) the cod. Laur. insert it. The word may possibly have fallen out in consequence of the similarity of the preceding syllable *-στων*, and, as Benseler suggests, is necessary to keep up the parallelism with the previous participle *ἐξαριθμῶν*.

68. τοῖς περὶ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφ.] 'To those who are contending for ancestral rights.' The expression *τὰ πάτρια* includes and especially refers to the supremacy. Dr Thompson (*Journ. of Class. and Sac. Phil.* Vol. IV. p. 150) proposes an excellent emendation, *περὶ τῶν πρωτεῶν ἀμφ.*, which would have the same meaning as *περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφ.* in §§ 20, 25, 57, 71, and 166; and may be supported by *Areop.* § 6, *ἐπρωτεύσαμεν τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. The common reading may, however, be defended by § 54, *τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφισβητοῦντας* (unless, indeed, we emend that passage also), and by § 37, *ἡγεμονίαν πατριωτέραν*.

The Lacedaemonians held that the supremacy was their hereditary right, one of their national institutions (§ 18, *πάτριον*); and Isocr. is here asserting that in the dispute for hereditary institutions, including the supremacy, the old achievements of Athens with regard to the Thracians and Scythians form an argument at least as convincing as any that could be deduced from her prowess in the Persian War.

ἔτι γὰρ—χρόνον κ.τ.λ.] This passage and § 54, *ἦλθον—δεδυστυχηκώς*, are quoted by Theon (Rhetorician, fl. 315 A.D.), *Progymn.* I. p. 201, Walz, with the following introductory remark: *διήγησιν δὲ διηγήσει συμπλέκειν ἐστίν, ὅταν δύο διηγήσεις ἡ καὶ πλείους ἅμα διηγείσθαι ἐπιχειροῦμεν, τοῦτο δὲ μάλα ἐπετηδενσαν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰσοκράτης ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ*.

Θρᾷκες.. Σκύθαι.] On the invasion of the Scythians see *Class. Dict.*, and cf. *Panath.* § 193 and Plato, *Menex.* 239 B. Müller (*Hist. of Gk. Lit.* chap. III. § 8) holds that the ante-historical Thracians (mentioned in the text) and the Thracians of a

Ἀμαζόνων τῶν Ἀρεως θυγατέρων, οὐ κατὰ τον αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃν ἑκάτεροι τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπῆρχον, μισοῦντες μὲν ἅπαν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐγκλήματα ποιησάμενοι, νομίζοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου πρὸς 69 μίαν μὲν πόλιν κινδυνεύσειν, ἀπασῶν δ' ἅμα κρατήσῃν. οὐ μὴν κατάρθωσαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους συμβαλόντες ὁμοίως διεφθάρησαν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἰνθρώπους ἐπολέμησαν. δῆλον δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐκείνοις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποθ' οἱ λόγοι περὶ αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον διέμειναν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πρα- 70 χθέντα πολὺ τῷ ἄλλων διήνεγκεν. λέγεται δ' οὖν περὶ μὲν Ἑ Ἀμαζόνων, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐλθουσῶν οὐδεμία πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν, αἱ δ' ὑπολειφθεῖσαι διὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε συμφορὰν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξεβλήθησαν, περὶ δὲ Θρακῶν, ὅτι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὅμοροι προσοικούντες ἡμῖν τοσοῦτον διὰ τὴν τότε στρατείαν διέλι- 55

later period were distinctly different races. Isocr. seems to identify them, when he speaks of the broad interval between the original abodes of the invaders (Eleusis (?), Helicon, and Parnassus) and the district to which they retreated. Several other writers attach great importance to this invasion; e.g. in Xen. *Mem.* III. 5, 9, it appears as a coalition against Athens of the powers of Europe. On the Amazons cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 685—690 and Lysias (?) *Or. Funér.* § 4, Ἀμάζονες Ἀρεως μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ἦσαν θυγατέρες, οἰκοῦσαι δὲ παρὰ Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν κ.τ.λ. with Taylor's *Lecl. Lysiacae*, c. 4.

Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Πισεδώδης.] Isocr. (*Panath.* § 103) states that Eumolpus assailed Erechtheus in vindication of the claims of Poseidon to be the tutelary deity of Athens. See also § 157, Εὐμόλπιδαι. n.

69, κατάρθωσαν... διεφθάρησαν.] See § 6, κατάρθωθῃ n. On the conjugation of compounds of ὀρθῶ see *ad Dem.* § 3, ἐπανορθῶ. n.

ὥσπερ ἂν.] Sc. διεφθάρησαν. The formula ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ (or ὥσπερ ἀνελ) is often elliptical; e.g. Plato, *Gorg.* 479 A, φοβούμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παῖς

('fearing like a child'), i.e. φοβοῦμενος ὥσπερ ἂν ἐφοβῆθη εἰ παῖς ἦν. (Goodwin's *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 42.)

διέμειναν — διήνεγκεν.] An instance of παρομοίωσις.

70. διὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε συμφορὰν.] The very same words are found in a similar context in Lysias (?) *Or. Funér.* § 6.

ἐξεβλήθησαν.] ἐξέπεσον is frequently used instead of the aor. pass. of ἐκβάλλω. *De Bigis*, § 12, ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντ' ἐκπεσόντες, and, immediately afterwards, κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας.

τὸν ἄλλον—κατοικισθῆναι.] i.e. 'Although in former times they dwelt beside us, on our very borders, nevertheless, by reason of that expedition, they left an intervening space so broad, that in the district between their land and ours many nations and all kinds of races and great cities have been established.'

τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον.] Referring to past time. *Dem. Lept.* 462, ἔχων ὑπῆρχε τὸν γοῦν ἄλλον χρόνον.

τὴν τότε στρατείαν.] Lit. 'the then expedition.' This Greek idiom

πον ὥστ' ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς χώρας ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ γένη παντοδαπὰ καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας κατοικισθῆναι.

- 71 (κ'). Καλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ πρέποντα τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, ἀδελφὰ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τοιαῦθ' οἷα περ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονότας, οἱ πρὸς Δαρεῖον καὶ Ξέρξην πολεμήσαντες ἔπραξαν. μεγίστου γὰρ πολέμου συστάντος ἐκείνου, καὶ πλείστων κινδύνων εἰς τὸν b

is very convenient, and is becoming more and more common in English. Similarly Shakspeare uses 'sometime' in at least seven passages, e.g. *Hamlet*, 1, 2, *Our sometime sister, now our queen.*

ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς χώρας.] The bare transl. '*in dem Zwischenraume*,' 'in the intervening country,' is, as Schneider notices, not very accurate. This would require ἐν τῇ μεταξύ χώρᾳ. Nor, again, is it possible to refer τῆς χώρας to Attica and the district to which these Thracians retired. It is very easy to be hypercritical on such a point as this. The essential meaning of the passage is the same in any case, but (if strict accuracy is required) τῆς χώρας is the land of the Thracians; ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς χώρας means 'in the interval between the land of the Thracians and our own land.' This idiom (by which the less remote extremity is omitted) Schneider illustrates by quoting Aristotle. *Av.* 187, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ διήπουθεν ἀήρ ἐστι γῆς. (The air, I ween, is 'twixt the earth and heaven.) A still more appropriate passage may be found in Eur. *Hec.* 435 sqq. ὦ φῶς· προσειπεῖν γὰρ σὸν θυμὸν ἔξεστί μοι, | μέτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν πλὴν ὅσον χρόνον ξίφους | βαίνω μεταξύ καὶ πυρᾶς Ἀχιλλεύς. (O Light! I can address thee by thy name; But cannot share thee, save the while I walk 'twixt *this*, and slaughter at Achilles' pyre.) v. Aristoph. *Ach.* 434, Soph. *O. C.* 292, and Halliwell's *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words*, where, it is stated that in English, 'between' is 'sometimes used elliptically, *this time* being understood.'

III. §§ 71—99. *The Persian Wars.* 71, 72. *In fighting against Darius and Xerxes, Athens conquered her allies and her enemies alike. She was thus held worthy of the prize of valour; and soon after, gained the undisputed empire of the sea.* 73, 74. *The Lacedaemonians, I admit, were in those times of crisis the causes of many benefits, but Athens outtrivalled Lacedaemon. I may be permitted to dwell on this point, that so we may remind ourselves of the valour of our ancestors and our hostility to the Barbarians. And yet I am well aware how hard it is to speak on subjects which have long since been pre-occupied and, for the most part, exhausted by our most able citizens in their funeral orations; nevertheless, in as much as they bear on my object, I must not hesitate to make mention of them.*

71. ἀδελφὰ τῶν εἰρημένων.] The adj. ἀδελφός, 'twin with,' 'akin to,' 'answering to,' is common in Plato. In Isocr. *Hel.* § 23, we have ἐξ ἀδελφῶν... γεγονότες... ἀδελφὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔσχον. Lysias (?) *Or. Funebr.* § 119.

οἱ πρὸς Δάρειον κ. Ξέρξην κ.τ.λ.] On the Persian wars, to which full allusion is made in the following sections, either the histories of Thirlwall or Grote, or 'The Tale of the Great Persian War' (by Mr Cox), may be read with advantage. In the following notes only the discrepancies between Isocr. and others will be dwelt upon, and the rhetorical exaggerations checked by occasional reference to historical authorities.

- αὐτὸν χρόνον συμπεσόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἀνυποστάτων οἰομένων εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν δὲ **72** *συμμάχων* ἀνυπέρβλητον ἡγουμένων ἔχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀμφοτέρων κινήσαντες ὡς ἑκατέρων προσήκεν, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κινδύνους διενεγκόντες, εὐθὺς μὲν τῶν ἀριστείων ἡξιώθησαν, οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἔλαβον, δόντων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἀμφισβητούντων δὲ τῶν νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ζητούντων.
- 73** (καΐ.) Καὶ μηδεὶς οἴεσθω μ' ἄγνοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίοι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατέστησαν· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖν ἔχω τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι τοιούτων ἀνταγωνιστῶν τυχούσα τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν διήνεγκεν. βούλομαι δ' ὀλίγῳ μακρότερα περὶ τοῖν πολέοιν εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ ταχὺ λίαν παραδραμεῖν, ἵν' ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα γένηται, τῆς τε τῶν προγόνων **74** ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔχθρας. καίτοι μ' οὐ λέληθεν, ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἔστιν ὕστατον ἐπελθόντα λέγειν περὶ πραγμάτων πάλαι προκατελημμένων καὶ περὶ ὧν οἱ μάλιστα δυνηθέντες τῶν πολιτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θα-

ἀνυποστάτων ... ἀνυπέρβλητον.] Obs. παρομοίωσις. v. pp. xiv, xv.

72. ἀμφοτέρων—προσῆκεν.] Imitated by Lycurgus, *adv. Leocr.* § 70 (330 B.C.).

εὐθὺς—ἔλαβον.] Quoted by Arist. *Rhet.* III. 9 as an instance of ἀντικειμένη λέξις (v. § 35, ἀμφοτέρους, n.).

Οἱ δόντων κ.τ.λ. cf. *Arctop.* § 17.

73. τοῖν πολέοιν.] v. § 17. n.

74. ὕστατον.] To be taken with ἐπελθόντα λέγειν and not with λέγειν alone, as Schn. proposes.

λέγειν ... εἰπεῖν ... εἰρηκασί.] On λέγειν || εἰπεῖν see *ad Dem.* § 41. n.—εἰρηκα is used as the pf. of both verbs.

χαλεπὸν — προκατελημμένων.] Cf. *de Perm.* § 83. The thought is very common, but has never been so well expressed as by Choerilus of Samos (ed. Näke, p. 104), ἃ μάκαρ ὅστις ξην κέων χρόνον ἔδρις αἰοιῆς |

Μουσῶν θεράπων, ὅτ' ἀκήρατος ἦν ἔτι λειμών. | νῦν δ' ὅτε πάντα δέδασται ἔχουσι δὲ πειρατά τέχνηαι, | ὕστατοι ὥστε δρόμου καταλειπόμεθ', οὐδέ τοι ἔσται | πάτη παπταίνοντα νεο-ζυγὲς ἄρμα πελάσσαι.

ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις.] The funeral orations, delivered from time to time in honour of those Athenians who fell in battle, probably took their origin from the Persian wars (. Grote, *H. G.* IV. 170, new ed.), and the events of those wars entered largely into their composition. Ar. *Rhet.* II. 22, 6. Dionys. Halic. *Ars Rhet.* VI. gives a receipt for the composition of an Oratio Funebri's.

Dem. *Lept.* p. 499, § 141, μόνου τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ποιέσθε καὶ λόγους ἐπιταφίους ἐν οἷς κοσμεῖτε τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα.

The following is a list of all the

πτομένοις πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ μὲν μέγιστ' αὐτῶν ἤδη κατακεκρῆσθαι, μικρὰ δ' ἔτι παραλελειφθαι. ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων, ἐπεὶ δὴ συμφέρεῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐκ ὀκνητέον μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.

75 (κβ'). Πλείστον μὲν οὖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους καὶ μεγίστων

known early specimens of this kind of Attic oratory, (1) The speech of *Pericles* in honour of those who fell before Samos (440 B.C.). Only one or two fragments of this are preserved.

(2) The speech of *Pericles* in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.), the substance of which is preserved in Thuc. II. 35—46.

(3) The oration composed by *Gorgias* the Sophist of Leontini, and published, if not actually delivered, in Athens (after 427 B.C.). According to Philostratus (*vit. Soph.* p. 493) it was intended to arouse the Athenians against Persia, and dwelt at length on the trophies of the Persian wars, ὑπὲρ ὁμονόίας μὲν τῆς πρὸς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲν διήλθεν (cf. § 16. fin.), ἐνδιέτριψε δὲ τοῖς τῶν Μηδικῶν τροπαίων ἐπαίνοις (cf. § 158. n.).

(4) The speech bearing the name of *Lysias*, ostensibly commemorating those who died in the Corinthian war (B.C. 394), and dwelling mainly on Mythical times and on the Persian wars. v. § 55. n.

(5) The *Menexenus* of Plato (the genuineness of which has been disputed on insufficient grounds); it consists almost entirely of a funeral oration which Socrates (who died 399 B.C.) pretends to have heard recited by Aspasia. The clue to the whole speech is contained in the brief introductory dialogue, in which Socrates comically exaggerates the effect produced on himself by such speeches, in a vein of irony which is perfectly appreciated by Menexenus: 235 c, ἀεὶ σὺ προσπαλῆεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς ῥήτορας. It was probably composed not long after the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C., see

esp. § 115. n.), and it is easy to trace many conscious or unconscious coincidences of subject and expression in the *Menexenus* and the *Panegyricus*.—v. Cic. *Orat.* 44, § 151.

(6) The speech wrongly ascribed to *Demosthenes*, purporting to be delivered after the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.). Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 320, § 285.

(7) The funeral oration of *Hyperides* in honour of those who fell in the Lamian War (322 B.C.). The greater part of it was discovered in Egypt in 1856; and was first edited by Prof. C. Babington (with a learned, and in the main correct, appendix on the funeral orations of the Greeks).

On the ceremonies of the public funerals see esp. Thuc. II. 34, or Grote's *H. G.* IV. 171, 266, new ed. On the usual place of burial, the Ceramicus, 'the fairest suburb of Athens,' τὸ κάλλιστον προάστειον τῆς πόλεως, cf. Aristoph. *Aves*, 395 sqq. κατακεκρῆσθαι.] The simple pf. κεκρῆσθαι is usually transitive; but the compound is passive both in this passage and in a fragment of the comic poet Amphis, the only other instance quoted by Veitch *Gk. verbs*, p. 605. In Plato, *Crat.* 426 E, &c. κατακεκρῆσθαι is trans.

ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων.] Dem. *de Cor.* 312, § 256, ἐκ τῶν ἐόντων.

§§ 75—84. The excellence and the public spirit of those who held sway in Athens and Sparta before the Persian wars, and schooled their citizens to virtue and valour. The younger generation thus became such brave antagonists of the Barbarians, (82—84) that no praise has ever been found adequate to their merits. They

ἐπαίνων ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπὲρ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος προκινδυνεύσαντας· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ
 πολέμου τούτου γενομένων καὶ δυναστευσάντων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ 56
 τοῖν πολέοιν δίκαιον ἀμνημονεῖν· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προα-
 σκήσαντες τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους καὶ τὰ πλήθη προτρέψαντες
 ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ χαλεποὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς τοῖς βαρβάροις
 76 ποιήσαντες. οὐ γὰρ ὀλιγώρουν τῶν κοινῶν, οὐδ' ἀπέλαυνον
 μὲν ὡς ἰδίῳν, ἡμέλουν δ' ὡς ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἐκήδοντο μὲν
 ὡς οἰκείων, ἀπείχοντο δ' ὥσπερ χρὴ τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόν-
 των· οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔκρινον, ἀλλ'
 οὗτος ἐδόκει πλοῦτον ἀσφαλέστατον κεκτήσθαι καὶ κάλ- b
 λιστον, ὅστις τοιαῦτα τυγχάνοι πράττων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτός τε
 μέλλοι μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσειν καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μεγίστην δόξαν
 77 καταλείψειν. οὐδὲ τὰς θρασυτήτας τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐξήλουν,
 οὐδὲ τὰς τόλμας τὰς αὐτῶν ἥσκουν, ἀλλὰ δεινότερον μὲν
 ἐνόμιζον εἶναι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούειν ἢ καλῶς

surpassed the heroes of the Trojan war, and proved themselves worthy of the same immortal memory as the sons of the Gods.

75—81. Dionysius of Halicarnassus devotes a long passage in his *Judicium de Isocrate*, to the dissection of nine or ten sentences quoted from this chapter. His quotations are introduced in words to this effect: 'from the actual diction of Isocrates we shall plainly see that in the rhythm of his periods he is constantly aiming at a polished smoothness, and that the puerility of his figures spends itself on parallelisms of sense, of structure, and of sound: I am not blaming these figures as a class, for many writers and orators have made use of them, in the desire to adorn their diction with the flowers of speech; I blame them only in their excess'...*ἐν γ' οὖν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ, τῷ περιβοήτῳ λόγῳ, πολὺς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις. Dionysius then quotes, in § 75, πλείστων—ἡγοῦμαι, in § 76, οὐδ' ἀπέλαυνον—προσηκόντων, αὐτὸς τε—καταλείψειν, in § 77, οὐδὲ τὰς θρασυτήτας—ἀποθνή-*

σκειν, in § 78, ὅτι τοῖς—ὁμονοήσουσιν, and in § 80, τὰ τῶν ἄλλων—ἐμμένειν ἀξιοῦντες.

75. *πλείστων...ἀξίους.*] Dionys. Hal. *l.c.*, ἐνταῦθα...οὐ μόνον τῷ κώλῳ τὸ κῶλον ἔσων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ὀνόμασι, κ.τ.λ.

τοῖν πολέοιν.] § 17. n.

76. *οὐ γὰρ ὀλιγώρουν.*] 'They despised not the public good; nor did they (while enjoying it as their own) disregard it as another's.' In translation, the clause containing *μὲν* may be often made subordinate in English to the clause containing *δέ*. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* § 179, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δέ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον. (v. Brougham's n. on the various ways of translating this climax.)

πρὸς ἀργύριον—ἐκρινον.] § 11, πρὸς τοὺς—σκοποῦσι. n.

77. *τὰς θρασυτήτας.*] For the pl. abstract, v. § 11, *μετρίότητας. n. κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούειν.*] *Male audire a civibus.* This idiom

ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθνήσκειν, μάλλον δ' ἡσχύνοντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις τοῖς σφετέροις 78 αὐτῶν. τούτων δ' ἦν αἴτιον, ὅτι τοὺς νόμους ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν, οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ὥς τοὺς περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· ἠπίσταντο γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς καλοῖς καγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν δεήσει πολλῶν γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀλίγων συνθημάτων ραδίως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων d 79 καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ὁμονοήσουσιν. οὕτω δὲ πολιτικῶς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ ὁπότεροι τοὺς ἑτέρους ἀπολέσαντες τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι φθίσονται τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσαντες·

is imitated by Spenser, Ben Jonson, and Milton: e.g. Milt. *Areopagitica*, p. 51, ed Arber. *What more nationall corruption for which England hears ill abroad, then household gluttony?*

78. τοὺς νόμους—ὁμονοήσουσι.] Cf. *Areop.* § 39—41.

ἠπίσταντο γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 'For they were aware, that, for good men and true, there will be no need of many written laws, but that, with the help of a few points of agreement, they will readily be of one mind, with regard both to private and to public interests.'

καλοῖς καγαθοῖς.] The expression καλὸς καγαθός, should always be written as two words. The form καλοκαγαθός is suspected by Loebek (*Philog.* p. 603), and καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός is condemned by Cobet (*Nov. lect.* p. 323), who quotes Photius: καλὸς καγαθὸς λέγεται κατὰ συναλοισίην, οὐχὶ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός. From καλὸς καγαθός we have καλοκαγαθεῖν and καλοκαγαθία (*ad Dem.* § 6, 51), just as from the parathetic forms ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, θεοὺς ἐχθρός, ὁ Ἄρειος πάγος, ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις, we obtain the synthetic words ἀνδραγαθία, θεοσεχθρία, Ἀρειοπαγίτης, Μεγαλοπολίτης (Cobet *u. s.* p. 394). For a discussion on the meaning of καλὸς καγαθός, v. Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, § 321-8.

γραμμάτων.] 'Legal documents.' Plat. *Politicus*, 293 A, ἐάν τε κατὰ γράμματα, ἐάν τε ἄνευ γραμμάτων, explained immediately afterwards by the equivalent expression ἐάν τε κατὰ νόμους, ἐάν τε ἄνευ νόμων. Isocr. *Areop.* § 41, δεῖν τοὺς ὁρθῶς πολιτευομένους οὐ τὰς στοὰς ἐμπιπλάναι γραμμάτων ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔχειν τὸ δίκαιον· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡθεσι καλῶς οκείσθαι τὰς πόλεις κ.τ.λ.

79. τὰς στάσεις...τὰς ἐταιρείας.] 'Political parties,' 'political clubs.' This flattering description of the noble ends to which party-spirit was consecrated in the early days of Greece, is evidently meant to be contrasted with the disastrous development of the same spirit in later times. Cf. § 167, πολέμους καὶ στάσεις κ.τ.λ., and the profound analysis of factions in their worst forms, given by Thuc. III. 82 sqq.

τὰς στάσεις ἐποιοῦντο...ὁπότεροι.] Cf. § 85, ὁπότεροι—ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἀμύλλαν. For the sense, cf. Herodot. VIII. 179 (Aristides to Themistocles), ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρέον ἐστι, ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέαν πλεῖν ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. Benseler cites the rivalry between Lycurgus and Alcander, Miltiades and Xanthippus.

καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας συνῆγον οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδία συμφερόντων,
 80 ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὠφελείᾳ. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ
 τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διόκουν, θεραπεύοντες ἄλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ στρατηγεῖν οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραν-
 νεῖν αὐτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡγεμόνες ἢ δεσπόταις
 81 προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ σωτῆρες ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες ἀποκα-
 λείσθαι, τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ προσαγόμενοι τὰς πόλεις, ἄλλ' οὐ βία
 ὅρκοις χρώμενοι, ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ὥσπερ ἀνάγκαις ἐμμέ- 57
 νειν ἀξιούντες, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ ταῖς δυναστείαις μέγα φρο-

80. ἄλλ' οὐχ.] For this use of ἀλλὰ (occurring four times in the same §), where 'and' is the most idiomatic rendering, cf. *ad Dem.* § 2 n.

σωτῆρες ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες ἀποκαλεῖσθαι.] 'To be called by the name of saviours and not reviled by the name of destroyers.' ἀποκαλεῖν (besides its primary sense, 'to call aside') = to give a by-name, a nickname, *apart from* (ἀπὸ) the correct name; hence, to revile. The word is omitted in Mitchell's *Index Graec. Isocraticae*, but may be found in *Sophist.* § 4, λέγουσι μὲν (οἱ σοφισταί), ὡς οὐδὲν δεόνται χρημάτων, ἀργυρίδιον καὶ χρυσίδιον τὸν πλοῦτον ἀποκαλοῦντες and *Hel.* § 57, τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἄλλῃ τῷ δυνάμει γιγνομένου λουδοροῦμεν καὶ κόλακας ἀποκαλοῦμεν. In both these passages it is used in a depreciatory sense; and this is the meaning which it almost invariably bears in early Greek authors. The only exceptions that have been noticed are *Xen. de re eq.* x. 17, ἀποκαλοῦσιν ἐλευθέριον (Jahn's *Jahr. Philol.* Suppl. 3, p. 571), and *Aristot. Eth.* ii. 97 (quoted by Mr Shilleto on *Dem. Fals. Leg.* § 274, λογογράφους καὶ σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλῶν): τοὺς χαλεπαίνοντας ἀνδρώδεις ἀποκαλοῦμεν. In late Gk. this usage is common, e.g. *Plutarch, vit. Sull.* 34, σωτῆρα καὶ πατέρα τὸν Σύλλαν ἀποκαλοῦντες and *Moral.* i. 776 E (quoted by Lennep on *Phalaris, Ep.* 65), ἀκούομεν δὴ Ὀμήρου τὸν Μῖνον θεοῦ δαριστὴν ἀποκαλοῦντος. But in almost every early

instance the bad sense is prominent, e.g. *Plat. Gorg.* 512 c. ὡς ἐν δνειδεῖ ἀποκαλέσας ἂν μηχανοποιῶν, and (besides the other passages quoted by L. and S.) *Dem. Fals. Leg.* p. 439 A, βάρβαρον κ. ἀλάστορα ἀποκαλῶν, and *Antisthenes* (the Cynic. fl. 336 B.C.), *Declam.* B, ἀποκαλεῖς ἱερό-συλον.

Applying the conclusions gained from the above passages, and esp. those from *Isocr.*, we are almost compelled to translate ἀποκαλεῖσθαι, 'to be reviled,' a rendering which suits λυμεῶνες, but does not suit σωτῆρες. We must therefore understand, from ἀποκαλεῖσθαι, a simple verb like καλεῖσθαι, and accept the sentence as an instance of *Zeugma*. v. § 26. n. and cf., for other instances of this figure, *Soph. Aj.* 1034—5, *El.* 71, *Propert. Eleg. lib. ult.* i. 17—19. Also *St Paul's Ep. to Tim.* i. iv. 3, Κωλυόντων γαμῖν, [*sc.* κελυνόντων] ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων, and *Browne's Vulgar Errors*, i. 10, 'some denying His humanity and (*sc.* saying) that He was one of the Angels, as *Ebion*.'

In the speech *de Pace*, § 141 (written in 357 B.C.), *Isocr.* expresses himself more regularly: προστῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ σωτῆρας ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνας αὐτῶν κληθῆναι.

81. πιστοτέροις—χρώμενοι.] Cf. *ad Nicocl.* § 22.

ἀξιούντες...ἀξιούντες.] Consider- ing the pains *Isocr.* generally takes

νοῦντες ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ σωφρόνως ζῆν φιλοτιμούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντες γνώμην ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἡττοὺς ἥνπερ τοὺς κρείττους πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἴδια μὲν ἄστη τας αὐτῶν πόλεις ἡγούμενοι, κοινὴν δὲ πατρίδα τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζοντες εἶναι.

- 82 (κγ.) Τοιαύταις διανοαῖς χρώμενοι καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡθεσι παιδεύοντες, οὕτως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς **b** ἀπέδειξαν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ὥστε μηδένα πώποτε δυνηθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀξίως τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν. καὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἔχω συγγνώμην· ὁμοίως γάρ ἐστι χαλεπὸν ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς ὑπερβεβληκότας τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετάς ὥσπερ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν πεποιηκότας· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπείσι πράξεις, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀρμόττοντες
- 83 λόγοι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο σύμμετροι τοιούτοις ἀνδράσιν, **c** οἱ τοσοῦτον μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένων διήνεγκαν,

to ensure variety of expression, this recurrence is remarkable. Here, and occasionally elsewhere (*Phil.* § 132, *προσαγορευομένους*, *de Perm.* § 128, *συμβέβηκε*, and *Paneg.* § 24, *ἔχοντες*), he has the good sense to allow a repetition to stand unaltered. Pascal has an excellent maxim on this point (*Pensées*, I. 10): 'Quand dans un discours on trouve des mots répétés, et qu'essayant de les corriger, on les trouve si propres qu'on gâterait le discours, il les faut laisser.'

ἄστη...πόλεις.] Primarily ἄστυ = a city regarded as a dwelling-place: πόλις = a city regarded as an association of individuals. The former is connected with the Indo-European root *vās*, 'to dwell,' whence the Sanskrit *vās-īya*, *vāstu*, 'dwelling-place,' 'house,' the Greek *ἑσ-τία*, *ἑστία*; and the Lat. *Vesta* (and *ves-ti-bulum*?). The latter with the Sanskrit *pur*, *pura*, *purī*, a word which is still constantly found as an element in the names of Indian cities, villages, &c., e.g. *Cawnpore*, *Serampore*, *Midnapore*. *Pur* or *purī* (= πόλις) and *puru* (= πολὺς) are doubt-

less connected, as both sets come from the root *ṛā*, 'to fill.' (Partly from Fick's *Wörterbuch der Indogerm. Grundsprache*.)

Ἑλλάδα.] The Cod. Urb. in this passage, and the Cod. Ambros., both here and in the corresponding passage in the speech *de Perm.* read *τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν*, but the reading adopted by BS and Bens. is evidently correct. (See further, Havet, p. 202.)

82. μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν.] Cf. *ad Dem.* § 51. n. and *Paneg.* § 3. n. Schn. quotes Arist. *Rhet.* III. 2, τῷ μὲν σοφιστῇ...τῷ ποιητῇ δέ... The distinction here drawn resembles that of § 186, τῶν ποιῶν δυναμένων...τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων, *Phil.* § 109, οὔτε τῶν ποιητῶν οὔτε τῶν λογοποιῶν, and *ib.* § 144, οὔτε λόγων εὐρετῆς οὔτε ποιητῆς.

Among the Sophists here referred to may be mentioned Gorgias (v. p. 82. n.); among the poets, Aeschylus (*Persae*), and Choerilus of Samos, whose chief work was a poem on the Persian wars, a few fragments of which are still extant. (v. p. 81. n.)

83. τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν

ὅσον οἱ μὲν περὶ μίαν πόλιν ἔτη δέκα διέτριψαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἑξ
 ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας δύναμιν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατεπολέμησαν,
 οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διέσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
 σύμπασαν Ἑλλάδα ἡλευθέρωσαν; ποίῳν δ' ἂν ἔργων ἢ
 πόνων ἢ κινδύνων ἀπέστησαν ὥστε ζῶντες εὐδοκιμεῖν, οἷτι-
 νες ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης ἧς ἔμελλον τελευτήσαντες ἔξειν οὕτως
 84 ἐτοίμως ἤθελον ἀποθνήσκειν; οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
 θεῶν τινα συναγαγεῖν ἀγασθέντα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ
 τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι τὴν φύσιν διαλάβοιεν μηδ' ἀκλεῶς τὸν

στρατευσάμενων διήνεγκαν ὅσον
 κ.τ.λ.] The Grecian heroes of the Trojan War formed a favourite standard of comparison, and the comparison was generally to their disadvantage. We are told, by Plutarch, *Pericl.* c. 28 (cited by Grote, iv. p. 171, new ed.), that Pericles, in his speech of the Samian expedition, boasted that, while Agamemnon had spent ten years in taking a foreign city, he himself had in nine months reduced the first and most powerful of all the Ionic communities. Isocr. (*Phil.* 111-2) praises Hercules for conquering Troy in a smaller number of days than the years spent by the besieging Greeks; and, lastly, Hyperides, (who is said to have been a pupil of Isocr.), finely says of the welcome destined for Leosthenes in the under-world: 'Will not the Grecian heroes who sailed to Troy accost him, and admire him for the deeds he has done and the spirit he has shewn? Deeds like theirs, indeed, but superior; for they, united with all Greece, took but one city, but he, depending only on his own country, humbled the power of all Europe and Asia.' (From Prof. C. Babington's *paraphr.*) Cf. also (Dem.) *Or. Fun.* p. 1392, and below, §§ 181, 186.

διήνεγκαν || διέτριψαν... διέσωσαν || ἡλευθέρωσαν.] Instances of *παρομοίωσις*.

ἔμελλον.] In Attic poets μέλλω is used only in pres. and impf. The

augment in η is never found in Hom. Aesch. Soph. or Eur.; never in Hdt. (and perhaps Thucyd.); it is rare in Aristoph. (*Ran.* 1038, τὸν λόφον ἡμελλ' ἐπιδήσειν, and *Ecc.* 597, where, however, Mr Shilleto proposes, on rhythmical grounds, to read *τουτὶ γὰρ ἔμελλον ἐγὼ λέξειν*); further, it is found twice in Xen. and (in the impf.) a few times in the Attic orators. (Chiefly from Veitch, *Gk. Verbs.*) In Benseler's edition of Isocrates the form ἡμελλον is adopted in every case, but in the present passage all the MSS. have ἔμελλον. (v. tab. of var. readings, n.) In Gk. composition ἔμελλον ought always to be preferred. Cf. § 102, ἡδυνήθημεν. n.

ἤθελον ἀποθνήσκειν.] On *θελω*, ἐθέλω v. *ad Dem.* § 24. n. ἤθελον is used as the impf. of both verbs. On ἀποθνήσκειν v. § 55. n.

84. οἶμαι—ἐποίησαν.] 'I would even deem that one of the gods brought about that conflict, in admiration for their valour, that, having such an inborn spirit, they might not remain in obscurity, nor end their lives ingloriously, but be held worthy of the same honours as those who are born of the gods, and are called demigods; for even in *their* case, while they yielded their bodies to the doom of nature, they nevertheless made immortal the memory of their valour.'

This burst of imagination is perhaps one of the finest conceptions in the whole speech; the expression

βιον τελευτησαιεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν γεγρονόσι καὶ καλουμένοις ἡμιθέοις ἀξιοθεῖεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων τὰ μὲν σώματα ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκαις ἀπέδωσαν, τῆς ε
δ' ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην ἐποίησαν.

- 85 (κδ'). Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ θ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φιλοτίμως πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ καλλίστων ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐφιλονίκησαν, οὐκ 58 ἐχθροὺς ἀλλ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι νομίζοντες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν βάρβαρον θεραπεύοντες ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ὁμονοοῦντες, ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτης αἴτιοι γενήσονται, περὶ τούτου ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄμιλλαν. ἐπεδείξαντο δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀρετὰς πρῶτον μὲν 86 ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθείσιν. ἀποβάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μὲν οὐ περιέμεναν τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ

καὶ καλουμένοις ἡμιθέοις is not an idle repetition of τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν γεγρονόσι, but introduces the idea of mortality resulting from the half-human nature of these sons of the gods; an idea which leads up to the mention of the surrender of their bodies to the debt of nature.

ἐκ τῶν θεῶν.] ἐκ denotes immediate origin; ἀπὸ generally, remote origin, *Panath.* § 81, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν γεγονότας.

ἐκείνων.] Sc. τῶν ἡμιθέων.—ἀπέδωσαν sc. οἱ θεοί. The reading ἐκείνων....ἐποίησαν here adopted is sanctioned by the Codd. Urb. and Ambr. (followed by Bens. and BS). Other MSS. have ἐκείνοι (sc. οἱ ἡμιθεοί)...κατέλιπον, an alteration which makes the construction simpler, but does not improve the sense.

ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκαις.] 'The necessities, the stern laws, of nature.' Cf. the Tacitean use of *necessitas suprema, ultima, extrema*, in the sense of 'death.'

§§ 85—98. *The noble rivalry of Athens and Sparta, displayed in the wars against Darius and Xerxes. The battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis.*

85. The expressions in this and the following section are closely parallel to those of Lysias (?) *Or. Funer.* § 23, οὐκ ἀνέμεναν πυθέσθαι οὐδὲ βοηθῆσαι τοὺς συμμάχους...μόνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τολὰς μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων διεκωδύνευσαν. § 24, ἀπῆρτων ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς· ἐνόμιζον γὰρ...τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλλοτρίας διὰ τὸν θάνατον κεκτήσθαι. § 26, οὕτω δὲ διὰ ταχέων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐποίησαντο, ὥστε οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγγειλαν τὴν τ' ἐνθάδε ἀφίξιν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὴν τῶν προγόνων νίκην. v. § 55. n.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ.....] Sc. οὐ μὴν [περὶ κακῶν] ἀλλὰ περὶ καλλίστων ἐφιλονίκησαν. Cf. § 172 and *ad Dem.* § 9. n.

ἀλλήλους...σφᾶς αὐτοὺς.] v. § 34. n.

ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ—θεραπεύοντες.] A passing thrust at the subsequent policy of the Lacedaemonians.

τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθείσιν.] Under Datis and Artaphernes, 490 B.C. Herodot. VI. 94—120.

86. οὐ περιέμεναν τοὺς συμμάχους.] Hdt. VI. 106. Before the battle of Marathon the courier Phidippides was sent by the Athenian generals to summon Sparta to their

τὸν κοινὸν πόλεμον ἴδιον ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπάσης b
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταφρονήσαντας ἀπῆντων τὴν οἰκείαν δύνα-
 μιν ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλ-
 λοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύειν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφθησαν
 πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον καὶ πάντων τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀμελήσαντες ἤκου ἡμῖν ἀμυνοῦντες, τοσαύτην ποιη-
 σάμενοι σπουδὴν, ὅσην περ ἂν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας πορθου-
 87 μένης. σημείον δὲ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης· τοὺς μὲν c
 γὰρ ἡμετέρους προγόνους φασὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας πυθέσθαι
 τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ βοηθήσαντας ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χώρας μάχῃ νικήσαντας τρέπαιον στήσαι τῶν
 πολεμίων, τοὺς δ' ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καὶ τοσαύταις νυξὶ
 διακόσια καὶ χίλια στάδια διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ πορευο- d

aid. 'And the Spartans wished to help the Athenians, but were unable to give them any present succour, as they did not like to break their established law. It was then the ninth day of the first decade; and they could not march out of Sparta on the ninth, when the moon had not reached the full. So they waited for the full of the moon.' (Rawlinson.)

ἀλλοτρίαις κ.τ.λ.] Thuc. i. 70, τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρώνται.

οἰκείαν δύναμιν.] Isocr. advisedly says nothing of the help given by the Plataeans (Hdt. vi. 108); his argument is confined to a comparison between Athens and Sparta.

ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας.] The Athenians are commonly reckoned at 10,000, either including or excluding the 1000 Plataeans; the Persians are estimated by Leake (*Demi*, p. 220) at 177,000, by Rawlinson at 210,000. The numbers *slain* (according to Hdt. vi. 117) were, on the side of the barbarians, about 6400 men; on that of the Athenians 192.

οὐκ ἔφθησαν πυθόμενοι...καὶ...ἤκου.] 'They no sooner heard...than they came.' *Evaḡ.* § 53, οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἀλλήλοις πλησιόσαντες καὶ περὶ

πλείονος ἐποίησαντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς. *Madv. Synl.* § 185 b.

ἔφθησαν.] v. table of var. readings and § 165. n.

87. σημείον δὲ...τοὺς μὲν γάρ.] This use of γάρ is very common after such formulae as σημείον δέ· τεκμήριον δέ· κεφάλαιον δέ· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον· δὲ δὲ πάντων δευδύνατον. Cf. § 149, *Phil.* § 50, 52, *ad Nicol.* § 21, &c. The technical name given to it (by Hoogeveen and others) is γὰρ *inchoativum*. In English we generally leave out 'for' in such cases; and this omission is not uncommon in Greek; e.g. *Phil.* § 95, τὸ μὲν τοῖνυν μέγιστον... *not* followed by γάρ, *Areop.* § 83, *Dem.* *Lept.* 503, § 152, *Mid.* 525, § 35, σημείον δέ· ἔθεσθε ἱερὸν νόμον... *Madv. Synl.* 196 a.

τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας.] 'It is clear that the Greeks were encamped for several days opposite to the Persians, unless we are to set aside altogether the narrative of Hdt.' (Rawlinson on Hdt. vi. 110, Leake's *Demi*, p. 213, Blakesley's *Excursus on the Battle of M.*)

διακόσια κ. χίλια στάδια.] = about 150 miles. Hdt. vi. 120, 'After the full of the moon 2000 Lacedaemonians came to Athens. So eager had they been to arrive in time, that

μένους. οὕτω σφόδρ' ἠπείχθησαν οἱ μὲν μετὰσχεῖν τῶν
κινδύνων, οἱ δὲ φθῆναι συμβαλόντες πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς βοη-
88 θήσοντας. (κέ.) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης τῆς ὕστερον
στρατείας, ἣν αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἤγαγεν, ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὰ βασι-
λεια, στρατηγὸς δὲ καταστήναι τολμήσας, ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς
ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας συναγείρας· περὶ οὗ τις οὐχ ὑπερβολὰς
89 προθυμηθεὶς εἰπεῖν ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων εἶρηκεν; ὃς
εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθεν ὑπερηφανίας, ὥστε μικρὸν μὲν ἡγησά-
μενος ἔργον εἶναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα χειρώσασθαι, βουλευθεὶς δὲ
τοιούτου μνημεῖον καταλιπεῖν, ὃ μὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεώς
ἐστίν, οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἐξέυρε καὶ συνηγάκασεν,

they took but three days to reach Attica from Sparta. They came however too late for the battle.' (Rawlinson.) Isocr. speaks of 'three days and as many nights,' and this is possibly what Herodotus means.

88. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.] Lysias (?) *Or. Funerbr.* § 27 sqq.—The principal verb of this long sentence is ἀπῆρτων (in § 90). The mention of Xerxes suggests a parenthetical description which does not close till the end of § 89, and the general sense of the previous clauses is there summed up in the words πρὸς δὴ τὸν κ.τ.λ., introduced by the resumptive particle δὴ. *Madv. Synl.* § 216.

τῆς ὕστερον στρατείας κ.τ.λ.] 480 B.C. Herod. VII—IX.

89. ὃ μὴ...ἐστιν.] *Quod humanam naturam excederet.* Wolf. Cf. § 10, λέγειν περὶ ὧν μηδεὶς πρότερον εἶρηκεν. *Madv. Synl.* § 203.

οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο κ.τ.λ.] 'He ceased not, until he had devised and by compulsion executed the task that is on the lips of all men, so that with his armament he sailed through the mainland and marched across the sea, by throwing a bridge across the Hellespont and digging a canal through Athos.'

The elaborate parallelism of the words and clauses of this sentence is too marked to escape notice. πλεῦσαι || πεζεύσαι· ἠπείρου) (θαλάττης· καὶ ξεύσας || διορύξας. Whether

this affectionation is worth preserving in a translation is questionable: what is barely tolerable in Greek is in this case insufferable in English. We might, if necessary, preserve it as follows: 'With his hosts he sailed across the mainland, and marched across the main, by bridging the Hellespont and abridging the voyage round Athos.' Wolf preserves the parallelism thus: *ut cum exercitu continentem navigavit, pedibus mare ambularit, tum Hellesponto ponte juncto, tum Athe monte perfosso*; and a similar attempt is made by Cartelier, the French translator of the speech *de permutatione*, p. 45.

In Lysias (?) *Or. Funerbr.* § 29, we have ὁδὸν μὲν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποιήσατο, πλοῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς ἠνάγκασε γενέσθαι. It is unnecessary to suppose either that Isocrates is plagiarising from the writer of the *Or. Funerbris*, or the converse; both may be quoting from the Funeral Oration of Gorgias, the remains of which are characterized by a series of frigid conceits like those of the present passage; or else both may be repeating some popular and traditional sentence, in which the deeds of Xerxes were commemorated in a rhythmical and antithetical form. Lucian, in his bitterly sarcastic *Rhetorum praeceptor*, § 20, ironically commends this topic to the aspirant after oratory: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ Μαρα-

ὁ πάντες θρυλοῦσιν, ὥστε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλεῦσαι μὲν διὰ
τῆς ἡπείρου, πεζεῦσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσ-
90 ποντον ζεύξας, τὸν δ' Ἀθῶ διορύξας· πρὸς δὲ τὸν οὕτω 59
μέγα φρονήσαντα καὶ τηλικαῦτα διαπραξάμενον καὶ τοσού-
των δεσπότην γενόμενον ἀπήντων διελόμενοι τὸν κίνδυνον,
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἰς Θερμοπύλας πρὸς τὸ πεζόν, χιλίους
αὐτῶν ἐπιλέξαντες καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγους παραλα-
βόντες, ὡς ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κωλύσונτες αὐτοὺς περαιτέρω
προελθεῖν, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πατέρες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐξήκοντα b

θῶν καὶ ὁ Κυναίγειρος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν τι
ἄνευ γένοιτο. καὶ αἰεὶ ὁ Ἀθῶς πλείσθω
καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος πεζεῦσθω καὶ ὁ
ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν βελῶν σκε-
πέσθω καὶ Ξέρξης φεγγέτω καὶ ὁ Λεω-
νίδας θαυμαζέσθω καὶ τὰ Ὀθρυάδου
γράμματα ἀναγινωσκέσθω, καὶ ἡ Σα-
λαμὶς καὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ αἱ Πλα-
ταῖαι πολλὰ ταῦτα καὶ πικρὰ.

In the four clauses πλεῦσαι—διο-
ρύξας observe the *chiasmus*; the first
clause corresponds to the fourth;
the second to the third. v. *ad Dem.*
§ 7. n., *Paneg.* § 54. n.

On the subject-matter of the sen-
tence v. Hdt. VII. 22-24 (with Raw-
linson's n.), 33-36, Aesch. *Pers.*
744-50, Cic. *de Fin.* II. 34, § 112,
and Juv. X. 173 sqq.

ὥστε.] Cf. *Archid.* § 4, ἦν δεδει-
γμένον ὥστε τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους περὶ
ἀπάντων εἰδέναι τὸ βέλτιστον; *ib.* § 40,
γέγονεν ὥστε...κρατηθῆναι. *Madv.*
Synt. § 145, R. 3, and Goodwin's
Gk. Moods and Tenses, § 98, n. 2.

90. χιλίους.] According to Hdt.
VII. 202, the original numbers were
as follows: 300 Spartan hoplites;
1120 Arcadians, from Tegea, Mantie-
nea, and the Arcadian Orchomenus,
and 1000 from other cities in Arca-
dia; from Corinth 400, from Phlius
200, from Mycenae 80. Also, from
Boeotia, 700 Thesians and 400
Thebans. 'There were also doubt-
less Helots and other light troops, in
undefined number, and probably a
certain number of Lacedaemonian
hoplites, not Spartans.' Grote, *H. G.*
III. 424, new ed.

Subsequently, Leonidas ordered
the allies to depart. The Lacedae-
monians (not the Spartans) may have
retired at the same time. Only the
Thespians and the Thebans remain-
ed with the 300 Spartans.

These 300 may have been (as Morus
supposes) attended by 2 or 3 Helots
each; by this hypothesis we obtain
an approximation to the number
1000 mentioned by Isocr. in this
passage. The Lacedaemonians are,
in this case, stated to have chosen
from themselves 300 Spartans and
700 Helots. The chief objection to
this view is the importance thereby
assigned to the Helots. I therefore
prefer assuming a confusion of num-
bers arising from the fact that, after
the desertion of the Theban contin-
gent, the 300 Spartans and the 700
Thespians exactly make up a force
of 1000 men. The number 1000 thus
became associated with the battle;
and was erroneously supposed to be
the number contributed by Lacedae-
mon.—The numbers given by Dio-
dorus Siculus, XI. 4 (quoted by
Morus, &c.), are, Λακεδαιμονίων χί-
λιοι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Σπαρτιάται τρια-
κόσιοι, where the 300 are probably
included in the 1000.

ἐπιλέξαντες.] Cf. Hdt. VII. 205,
ἐπιλεξάμενος (Λεωνίδης) ἄνδρας τ.
τοὺς κατεστέωτας τρηκοσίους καὶ τοῖσι
ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἔντες...

ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις.] According to
Hdt. VIII. 1, out of the total of 271
Grecian vessels that met at Artemi-
sium, the Athenians furnished 127,

τριήρεις πληρώσαντες πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ναυτικόν.
 91 ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων οὐχ οὔτω τῶν πολεμίων καταφρο-
 νούντες ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιῶντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν
 ζηλοῦντες τὴν πόλιν τῆς Μαραθῶνι μάχης, καὶ ζητοῦντες
 αὐτοὺς ἐξιῶσαι, καὶ δεδιότες μὴ δις ἐφεξῆς ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν
 αἰτία γένηται τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς σωτηρίας, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι
 μάλιστα μὲν βουλόμενοι διαφυλάξαι τὴν παρούσαν δόξαν
 καὶ πᾶσι ποιῆσαι φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ πρότερον δι' ἀρετὴν
 ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τύχην ἐνίκησαν, ἔπειτα καὶ προαγαγέσθαι τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὸ διανουμαχεῖν, ἐπιδείξαντες αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως
 ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς κινδύνους ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν
 92 τοῦ πλήθους περιγιγνομένην. (κς'.) Ἴσας δὲ τὰς τόλμας

manned by themselves and the Plataeans; and 20 manned by Chalcidians. These were subsequently reinforced by 53 ships from Attica. According to Isocrates the number of triremes manned by the Athenians is sixty. Coray proposes to remove the discrepancy by adding *καὶ ἑκατόν*. It is safer to suggest that Isocr. supposes that the Attic reinforcement of 53 vessels is *included* in the 127 vessels mentioned by Hdt. In this case, 74 Athenian vessels would form the original contingent manned by the Athenians and Plataeans. Making a rough allowance for the Plataeans, Isocr. arrives at his estimate of 60 vessels. In the above explanation I have been anticipated by Schneider, and other suggestions might easily be made, but it is enough to notice broadly that throughout this section the merit of the Lacedaemonians is slightly depreciated, and that of the Athenians exaggerated; hence the empty phrase *πρὸς τὸ πεζόν*, contrasted with the fulness of *πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ναυτικόν*, and hence also the adoption of such an account of the number of triremes manned by the Athenians, as would allow the battle of Artemisium to be plausibly compared with that of Thermopylae.

91. ἀγωνιῶντες.] Usually *ἀγωνιῶν* has an *intensive* meaning; here, however, it has no such force. Cf. Harpocration, ἀγωνιῶντες ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγωνιζόμενοι παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ (sc. Ἰσοκράτει) ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ.

ζηλοῦντες || ζητοῦντες.] *παρονομασία*. Cf. § 45, *βάμης* || *γνώμης*, § 186, *φήμη* || *μνήμη*, n. *ad Dem.* § 28, *χρήματα* || *κτήματα*, also above, § 89. n.

τῆς Μαραθῶνι μάχης.] This (and not ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης) is the almost universal formula, e.g. *Phil.* § 147, ἐκ τῆς Μαραθῶνι μάχης καὶ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας, *Dem. de Cor.* § 208, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας κ. τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταμένους κ. τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίσαντας, *Dem. Aristocr.* § 196, 198, *Thuc.* I. 73, and *Plat. Menex.* 240, 241. Μαραθῶνι is in all these passages a quasi-adverb, like Ἐλευσίνι, Ἀλκιδῶνι, Ἀγροῖντι, Ῥαμνοῖντι, &c. The form ἐν Μαραθῶνι is sometimes found (e.g. *Hdt.* VI. 111-117, *Aesch. Ctesiph.* § 181, *Plato, Gorg.* 516 D, *Arist. Rhet.* II. 22). Cobet (*nov. lect.* p. 96) lays down the law, '*nemo unquam veterum ἐν Μαραθῶνι dixit.*'

The name of the *demos* is derived, not from any hero called Marathon (as Pausanias tells us), but probably from the growth of *μάραθρον*, or fenel, beside its *λεῖμων* ἑρόντα (*Ar. Av.* 246). For similar botanical

- παρασχόντες οὐχ ὁμοίαις ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπείπου, (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὥς ἡττήθησαν οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἤξιωσεν) οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τὰς μὲν δ
πρόπλους ἐνίκησαν, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἤκουσαν τῆς παρόδου τοὺς πολεμίους κρατοῦντας, οἵκαδε καταπλεύσαντες [καὶ κατασκεύασαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν] οὕτως ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν αὐτοῖς προειργασμένων ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῶν κινδύνων ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκαν.
- 93 ἀθύμως γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων διακειμένων, καὶ Πελοποννησίων μὲν διατειχιζόντων τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ ζητούντων εἰς ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πόλεων ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γεγεννημένων καὶ συστρατευομένων ἐκείνοις, πλὴν εἴ τις διὰ μικρότητα παρημελήθη, προσπλευσῶν δὲ τριήρων διακοσίων καὶ χιλίων καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναριθμήτου μελλούσης εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσβάλλειν, οὐδεμιᾶς σωτηρίας 60
αὐτοῖς ὑποφαινομένης, ἀλλ' ἔρημοι συμμάχων γεγεννημένοι
94 καὶ τῶν ἐλπιδῶν ἀπασῶν διημαρτηκότες, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον τοὺς παρόντας κινδύνους διαφυγεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὰς

names of Attic *demi* cf. Ἀγροῦς, Βατή, Ἐλαιοῦς, Μυρμινοῦς, Οἰνὴ, Πρασταί, Ῥαμνοῦς, Φηγοῦς.

92. οἱ μὲν—ἤξιωσεν.] Cf. Lysias (?) *Or. Funer.* § 31 and Hyperid. *Or. Funer.* col. 23.

τὰς πρόπλους.] The advanced squadron of 200 vessels mentioned in Hdt. viii. 7.

καὶ κατασκεύασαντες—πόλιν.] These words, though found in all MSS. of the corresponding passage (*de Permutatione*), are omitted by all the MSS. in the present passage, and therefore enclosed within brackets.

πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν.] In English we omit the conjunction. A further extension of the Greek idiom may be noticed in Plato, *Apol.* p. 28 A, πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας.

93. διακειμένων... διατειχιζόντων... γεγεννημένοι... διημαρτηκότες, ἐξὸν... οὐχ ὑπέμειναν κ.τ.λ.] The

sentence begins with a number of participial constructions, the principal vb. does not appear till the 3rd line of the next p.

τριήρων διακοσίων καὶ χιλίων.] The exact number, according to Hdt. vii. 89, was 1207. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 341, Plato, *Legg.* 699 B. Elsewhere (*Panath.* § 49) Isocr. reckons the fleet of Xerxes at 1300, and the infantry at five millions, 700,000 of whom were fighting men. (v. Leake's *Demi*, p. 250.)

οὐδεμιᾶς—ὑποφαινομένης.] '*Als ihnen da nirgends ein Rettungstern leuchtete*' is Benseler's transl. The metaphor is (as Rauchenstein observes), borrowed from the first gleam of day-break on the horizon.—Xen. *Anab.* iv. 2. 7, ἡμέρα ὑπέφαιεν. Cf. Aristot. *Probl.* 25. 5, ὑποφασκούσης ἔω, and for the metaphor, Cic. *pro domo*, § 75, *lucem salutemque redditam sibi ac restitutam accipere*.

ἐξαιρέτους λαβεῖν, ἃς αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου βασιλεὺς ἡγούμενος, εἰ
 τὸ τῆς πόλεως προσλάβοι ναυτικόν, παραχρήμα καὶ Πελο-
 ποννήσου κρατήσῃ, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρεάς,
 οὐδ' ὀργισθέντες τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅτι προυδόθησαν, ἀσμένως
 95 ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὥρμησαν, ἀλλ'
 αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο,
 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τὴν δουλείαν αἰρουμένοις συγγνώμην εἶχον.
 ἡγούντο γὰρ ταῖς μὲν ταπειναῖς τῶν πόλεων προσήκειν ἐκ
 παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν, ταῖς δὲ προσεσθάναι τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος ἀξιούσας οὐχ οἶόν τ' εἶναι διαφεύγειν τοὺς κινδύ- c
 νους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς καλοῖς ἀγαθοῖς αἰρετώ-
 τερόν ἐστι καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῶς, οὕτω καὶ τῶν
 πόλεων ταῖς ὑπερεχούσας λυσιτελεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανι-
 σθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ δούλαις ὀφθῆναι γενομέναις. δῆλον δ' ὅτι
 96 ταῦτα διανοήθησαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν πρὸς
 ἀμφοτέρας ἵμα παρατάξασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις, παραλαβόντες
 ἅπαντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐχόμενῃ d
 νῆσον ἐξέπλευσαν, ἵν' ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἑκατέραν κινδυνεύσω-

94. ἐδίδου.] The offer was really made by *Mardonius* in 479 B.C., through Alexander, the son of Amyntas; Hdt. viii. 136, 140.

βασιλεὺς] = 'the Great King.' The article is in this case nearly always omitted. v. § 145. n.

95. ὥσπερ τῶν — γενομέναις.] Obs. the aor. and the pres. tenses. The distinction is carefully pointed out by Goodwin's translation of this passage (*Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 23, 1): 'as it is preferable for honourable men to die (*Aor.*) nobly rather than to continue living (*Pres.*) in disgrace, so also they thought that it was better (*Pres.*) for the pre-eminent among states to be (*at once*) made to disappear from the earth, than to be (*once*) seen to have fallen into slavery.'

καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῶς.] Cf. *Archid.* § 89, *Lysias* (?) *Or. Fénév.* § 62, and (for the order of words) v. *ad Dem.* § 7, *πλούτου κρείττων. n.*—On the constr. of δούλαις, v. § 124. n.

96. ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ.] *i.e.* 'For when they were unable to marshal themselves against both the land and the sea force at once, they took with them all the multitude from the city, and sailed forth to the neighbouring island, that so they might contend in turn against the two opposing forces.'

τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.] Cf. §§ 174, 187, and *Madv. Synt.* § 79 b.

ἐξέπλευσαν.] *Quanto rectius in Aeginetico scribitur*, § 31, ὥρῳα τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ὅσοι περ ἦσαν ἐν Τροιζήνι, διαπλέοντας εἰς Αἴγιναν, et omnino διαπλεῖν, διαπορθμεύειν et sim. in usu sunt de iis, qui in vicinam insulam trajiciunt. Saep̄ apud Isocratem quoque ex et di confusa sunt: quare confidenter rescribere διέπλευσαν. Cobet, *nov. lect.* p. 120. The word ἐξέπλευσαν is however far more expressive. 'Ce n'est pas ici une simple traversée, c'est une émigration.' Havet.

ἐν μέρει.] 'In turns,' first against the sea force at Salamis, secondly

σιν. (κζ'.) Καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἐκείνων ἄνδρες ἀμεινους ἢ μάλλον φιλέλληνες ὄντες ἐπιδειχθεῖεν, οὔτινες ἔτλησαν ἐπιδεῖν, ὥστε μὴ τοῖς λοιποῖς αἴτιοι γενέσθαι τῆς δουλείας, ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν γενομένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθομένην, ἱερὰ δὲ συλῶμενα καὶ νεῶς ἐμπιπταμένους, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν πόλεμον περὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὐτῶν γιγνόμενον; e
97 καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς χιλίας καὶ διακοσίας τριήρεις μόνον διαναναμαχεῖν ἐμέλλησαν. οὐ μὴν εἰάθησαν· καταισχυθέντες γὰρ Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν ἀρετὴν

against the land force at Plataea. It will be observed that Isocr. does not dwell on the battle of Plataea; doubtless because, while the Athenians defeated the Thebans, the Lacedaemonians defeated the Barbarians in that engagement.

ἔτλησαν.] The MSS. have ἐτόλμησαν, but in the twin passage (*de Permutatione*) the Vulg. has ἔτλησαν, a reading which is supported by Dionys. Halic. *de vi Demosth.* 40, and by Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 7, 10, who says that uncommon words may be employed when the orator has gained possession of his audience, and worked them up to enthusiasm: οὖν καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ ἐπὶ τέλει, 'φήμη δὲ καὶ γνώμη' (v. § 186. n.), καὶ 'οἷ τινες ἔτλησαν.' I have therefore followed BS and Bens. in reading ἔτλησαν. The word is rare in Attic *prose*: it occurs, however, in Xen. *Cyrop.* III. 1, 2, οὐκέτι ἔτλη εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν.

ὥστε.] Cf. § 83, πῶλον ἀπέστησαν ὥστε... εὐδοκμεῖν. *Madv. Synl.* § 166 b.

γενομένην... πορθομένην... γιγνόμενον.] Obs. the force of the aor. and the pres. participle. v. Goodwin's *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 24. n. 2.

καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἀπέχρησεν.] This is the MS. reading. Dionys. Halic. however, in quoting §§ 96—99 (*de vi Demosth.*), gives us the reading καὶ μηδὲ, which is actually adopted by Benseler, mainly because it removes the *hiatus*, and is explained by him as follows: *Præf.* v. *Et ne*

hoc quidem iis satis fuisse censuerim, sed audacius etiam quid conaturi fuissent, si ceteri id vivissent. If a reading that stands on such weak authority needs explanation, it would be better to attribute the use of μὴ to the influence of οὔτινες in the earlier part of the sentence. But the MS. reading, which I have retained, needs no explanation; and, as for the *hiatus*, it is perfectly admissible. In *Excursus XI.* to Bremi's ed. more than 20 instances are quoted to shew that Isocr. often places καὶ immediately before a vowel; some of these have, of course, been altered by Benseler; but in three passages (*de Pace*, § 14, *Panath.* § 107, 184) καὶ οὐκ is allowed to remain. I can, therefore, see no sufficient reason for printing either καὶ μηδὲ (with Bens.), or κοῦδὲ (with Dindf.), or simply οὐδὲ (with Havet).

97. διαναναμαχεῖν ἐμέλλησαν.] 'They were about to (were ready to) contend, &c.' There is no necessity for abandoning ἐμέλλησαν (the reading of Cod. Urb. followed by BS) in favour of ἐμελέτησαν (Cod. Ambr. followed by Bens. 'curam in eo posuerunt, sese praeparaverunt;') but subsequently abandoned by him). 'There seems no foundation for Buttmann, Kühner, Jelf, &c. confining the aor. to the meaning *have delayed*, see Thuc. I. 134, III. 55, 92, v. 116, VIII. 23, and Isocr. *Archid.* § 44, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐμέλλησεν ἐκπλεῖν.' (Veitch, *Gk. Verbs*, s. v.) εἰάθησαν.] Sc. μόνον διαναναμαχεῖν.

αὐτῶν, καὶ νομίσαντες προδιαφθαρέντων μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐδ' αὐτοὶ σωθήσεσθαι, κατορθώσαντων δ' εἰς ἱτιμίαν τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις καταστήσειν, ἡναγκάσθησαν μετασχεῖν τῶν 61
κινδύνων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν θορύβους τοὺς ἐν τῷ πράγματι
γενομένους καὶ τὰς κραυγὰς καὶ τὰς παρακελεύσεις, ἃ κοινὰ
πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν ναυμαχούντων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ λέγοντα
98 διατρίβειν· ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἴδια καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἄξια καὶ τοῖς
προειρημένοις ὁμολογούμενα, ταῦτα δ' ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστὶν εἰ-
πεῖν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διέφερεν, ὅτ' ἦν ἀκέραιος,
ὥστ' ἀνάστατος γενομένη πλείους μὲν συνεβάλετο τριήρεις b

The pass. of *ἔαν* is far from common; it occurs however in Dem. *Ol.* II. § 16, *ἔωμενοι*, *Steph.* A, § 22, *εἰᾶσθαι*.

κατορθώσαντων.] Sc. τῶν ἡμετέρων. Cobet (*nov. lect.* p. 359) finds an unaccountable difficulty in taking οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι as the subject of *καταστήσειν*, and therefore proposes *κατορθώσαντας*. For the general historical allusion cf. Hdt. VIII. 63, *ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέους λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωθήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφέας ἀπολίπωσι, ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀνάγῃ τὰς ναῦς· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί· ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διανυμαχεῖν*. Isocr. says nothing of the well-known artifice subsequently adopted by Themistocles to compel both Athenians and Peloponnesians to fight the Persians (Hdt. VIII. 75).

θορύβους...κραυγὰς...παρακελεύσεις.] 'All the uproar...the cries...and the cheers.' The sentence *καὶ τοὺς—διατρίβειν* is repeated almost verbatim in *Evag.* § 31. Cf. Lys. (?) *Or. Funebr.* § 38, *ἀκούοντες συμμεμυγμένοι Ἑλληνικοῦ κ. βαρβαρικοῦ παιᾶνος, παρακελευσμοῦ δ' ἀμφοτέρων, κ. κραυγῆς τῶν διαφθειρομένων* (with the context).

98. *ἃ δὲ...ταῦτα δέ...*] For δὲ in apodosis v. Buttmann's *Midias*, exc. XII., and cf. *Panath.* § 133 (bis), *de Perm.* § 305, and the passages quoted on p. 43.

ἀκέραιος...ἀνάστατος.] Cf. *Ar-*

chid. § 66, quoted above, § 37. n.

πλείους...τριήρεις...ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ναυμαχῆσαντες.] Isocr. here states that Athens contributed a larger number of triremes than all the rest of the allied combatants put together. Cf. *Panath.* § 50, Lys. (?) *Or. Funebr.* § 42. According to Herodotus (VIII. 48) the total number of triremes in the fleet was 378 (although the number gained by adding the various contingents together is 366); of these 180 were furnished by the Athenians (*ib.* 44), and 198 (or 186) vessels were contributed by the rest.

At first sight this proportion hardly warrants the statement of Isocr. that the Athenian contingent was greater than that of the rest of the allies. We must not always look for arithmetical accuracy in Isocrates, *παραπλήσιον γὰρ φαίνεται μαθηματικοῦ τε πιθανοῦ γιγνόντος ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ῥητορικὸν ἀποδέξειν ἀπατεῖν*, but if it is necessary to reconcile the historian and the rhetorician, I may draw attention to the fact that, while only 180 vessels were *manned* by the Athenians themselves, 20 of the 198 (or 186) triremes of the allies really *belonged to Athens*, and were only manned by the Chalcidians (Hdt. VIII. 1 compared with 46); and that the number of triremes belonging to Athens was therefore 200, against the 178 (or 166) belonging to the allies. This view is confirmed by the speech of Them-

εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, οὐδεὶς δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἔχει δυσμενῶς, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε διὰ μὲν τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι, ταύτης δὲ τὴν πόλιν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι.

99 (κῆ.) Καίτοι μελλούσης στρατείας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔσεσθαι τίνας χρή τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν; οὐ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμήσαντας, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν **C** ἰδίᾳ προκινδυνεύσαντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἀγώνων ἀριστείων ἀξιοθέντας; οὐ τοὺς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκλιπόντας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας, καὶ τό τε παλαιὸν οἰκιστὰς τῶν πλείστων πόλεων γενομένους, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν διασώσαντας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάθοιμεν, εἰ τῶν κακῶν πλείστον μέρος μετασχόντες ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἀξιοθεῖμεν καὶ τότε προταχθέντες ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων νῦν ἐτέροις ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖμεν; **d**

stocles (ap. Hdt. VIII. 61), whose express statement that Athens contributed 200 vessels has sometimes been unnecessarily accused of exaggeration.

Lastly, it may be noticed that the popular tradition affirmed that about two-thirds of the fleet consisted of Athenian vessels: cf. the speech of the Athenians in Thuc. I. 74, ναὺς μὲν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγω ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν (παρεσχόμεθα), Dem. *de Corona*, § 70, τριακοσίῳ οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν (τῶν τριῶν), τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πόλιν παρέσχετο. Cf. § 107. n. **σύμπαντες οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες.**]

In the corresponding passage (*de Perm.*) the Cod. Laur. has *συνναυμαχήσαντες*, which is adopted by Coray, Bens., and Rauchenstein. This view may be supported by *Panath.* § 50, πλείους ναὺς παρέσχοντο κ. μείζω δυνάμειν ἐχούσας ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ συγκινδυνεύσαντες. The reading in the text is supported by the Cod. Urb. and is retained by BS, Schneider, and others.—*σύμπαντες* = *σύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι*. cf. § 107, *κεκτημένοι τριῖναις διπλοῦσιν ἢ σύμπαντες* (sc. οἱ ἄλλοι).

ταύτης... αἰτῶν...] i. e. 'Athens

brought about the battle, 'not' brought about the victory in the battle' (v. § 26. n.). Cf. *Panath.* § 51, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν ὁμολογουμένως ἅπασιν αἴτιον εἶναι δόξαντα καὶ τοῦ τὴν ναυμαχίαν γενέσθαι κατὰ τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατορθωθέντων.

§ 99. *Recapitulation of §§ 15—98*
In the event of an expedition against the barbarians, Athens deserves the supremacy, for her prowess in the former war, for her sacrifices in behalf of the salvation of Greece, for founding all those cities in old time, and for rescuing them from disaster. Hers was the greatest share of suffering; hers should be the greater honour; she was in the fore-front then, she cannot deserve the second place now.

99. *τὴν αὐτῶν.* Sc. γῆν. Cf. § 41, τοῖς δυστυχοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν (sc. πόλεσιν), § 49, 146, 168. *Madv. Synl.* § 87 b, R. 1, and Jelf (Kühner), § 436.

οἰκιστὰς τῶν πλείστων πόλεων.]

§§ 34—37.

τῶν κακῶν πλείστον μέρος μετασχεῖν. Cf. *Archid.* § 3, τῶν κινδύνων πλείστον μέρος μετέξουσιν, and

- 100 (κθ.) Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν πλείστων ἀγαθῶν τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ δικαίως ἂν αὐτῆς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι, μετὰ δὲ ταύτ' ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῶν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης παρελάβομεν, πολλῶν κακῶν αἰτιοὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστημεν, καὶ τὸν τε Μηλίῶν ἀνδραποδισμόν καὶ
 101 τὸν Σκιωναίων ὄλεθρον ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἡμῖν προφέ-
 ρουσιν. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦτο ση-
 μείον, ὡς κακῶς ἤρχομεν, εἰ τινες τῶν πολεμησάντων ἡμῖν
 σφόδρα φαίνονται κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τόδε μείζον τε-
 κμήριον, ὡς καλῶς διφυκοῦμεν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων, ὅτι τῶν πό-
 λεων τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῖν οὐσῶν οὐδεμία ταύταις ταῖς συμφοραῖς

elsewhere in Isocr. 'A person who shares anything with another, takes the whole of the part (μέρος, &c. in accusative), part of the whole (substantive in genitive): Aesch. Ag. 507, μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος, Hdt. iv. 145, μοῖραν τιμῶν μετέχοντες, Eur. Iph. T. 1299, &c.' Jelf (Kühner), § 535, 1.

§§ 100—109. *Charges brought against Athens, on the ground of the severity of her empire; especially with regard to her treatment of Melos and Scione. 101—102. These charges answered, and further refuted by an appeal (103) to the prosperity of Greece during the supremacy of Athens and (104—6) to the general equity of her political administration. (107—9) Her disinclination to self-aggrandisement shewn by her abstaining from taking possession of Euboea.*

100. τὸν Μηλίῶν ἀνδραποδισμόν.] The affair of Melos is related by Thuc. v. 84—116: οἱ δὲ Μηλῖοι Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰσὶν ἄποικοι (cf. Hdt. viii. 48), τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἤθελον ὑπακούειν ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται. In 416 B.C. the Athenians undertook the conquest of Melos, 'one of the Cyclades, and the only one, except Thera, which was not already included in her empire.' The island refused to surrender, and a private discussion en-

sued between the Athenian envoys and the Executive Council of Melos. This debate is thrown into a dramatic and impressive form by Thucydides, to serve as a culminating instance of the injustice of Athens, and to prepare the reader for the subsequent account of the Sicilian expedition and its disastrous issue. The pleas of the Melians were unavailing; the island was compelled to surrender at discretion: 'the Athenians resolved to put to death all the men of military age, and to sell the women and children as slaves. Five hundred Athenian settlers (ἀποικοὶ) were subsequently sent thither, to form a new community.' (Grote, H. G. P. II. c. 56, *ad fin.*)

τὸν Σκιωναίων ὄλεθρον.] Scione, situated in the peninsula of Pallene, (the most western of the three peninsulas of Chalcidice) revolted from Athens to Sparta in March 423 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 120). The Athenians accordingly blockaded Scione (ib. 130—1); and captured it in 421 (ib. v. 32), put to death the male population of military age, sold the women and children into slavery, and made over the territory to the Plataean refugees. (Grote, H. G. P. II. c. 54, 55.)

101. σημείον (τεκμήριον).] 'proof' ('convincing argument.' The posi-

- 102 *περίεπεσεν. ἔπειτ' εἰ μὲν ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμά-
των πραότερον ἐπεμελήθησαν, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπιτιμῶεν'*
εἰ δὲ μήτε τοῦτο γέγονε μήθ' οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ τοσούτων πόλεων
τὸ πλήθος κρατεῖν, ἣν μὴ τις κολάζῃ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας,
πῶς οὐκ ἤδη δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν, οὔτινες ἐλαχίστοις
χαλεπήναντες πλείστον χρόνον τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν ἡδυ-
103 *νῆθημεν; (λ'). Οἶμαι δὲ πᾶσι δοκεῖν τούτους κρατίστους b*
προστάτας γενήσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ πειθαρχή-
σαντες ἄριστα τυγχάνουσι πράξαντες. ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῆς ἡμε-
τέρας ἡγεμονίας εὐρήσομεν καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους πρὸς
εὐδαιμονίαν πλείστον ἐπιδόντας καὶ τὰς πόλεις μεγίστας γε-
104 *νομένας. οὐ γὰρ ἐφθονοῦμεν ταῖς αὐξανομέναις αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ*
ταραχὰς ἐνεποιοῦμεν πολιτείας ἐναντίας παρακαθιστάντες,
ὥν ἀλλήλοις μὲν στασιάζοιεν, ἡμᾶς δ' ἀμφοτέροι θεραπεύ- c

tion of the two words is evidently intentional; the converse order would produce an anti-climax.

102. *πῶς οὐκ—ἡδυνήθημεν;*] *i. e.* 'Does it not become irresistibly right for others to praise us, in that we shewed our resentment in a very few cases, and were enabled to hold our dominion for a very great length of time?'

On *πῶς οὐκ* v. § 6. n. *οὔτινες= quippe qui.* Cf. Dem. *adv. Callicl.* § 28 (where οἱ γε is used in the immediate context).

πλείστον χρόνον.] The exact duration of the Athenian empire is variously reckoned: *e. g.* Demosthenes, *Ol.* III. § 24, states it at 45 years (*i. e.* 477—432, τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξαν ἐκόντων); elsewhere at 65 years (terminating with 413 B.C., the date of the Athenian defeat in Sicily); and in *Phil.* III. § 23 at 73 years (477—405 inclusive. *προσάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προσάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι, sc. 405—376, battle of Naxos.* Isocrates himself, *Panath.* § 56 (quoted by Morus), reckons the uninterrupted dominion of Athens at 65 years (477—413 incl.), the sway of Sparta at 10 years (404—394, battle of

Cnidus). When the period is expressed in round numbers, it is generally stated at 70 years, *e. g.* by Lysias (?) *Or. Fun.* § 55, by Plato (?) *Ep.* VII. p. 332 B, and (according to *one* interpretation) by Isocr. *Paneg.* § 106. For other periods mentioned by various ancient authorities, see Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* II. app. 6, 7, or Böckh's *Publ. Econ.* Bk. III. c. 20, n. 591.

ἡδυνήθημεν.] In the inflexions of *δύναμαι*, the epic poets never use the augment in *η-*, the Attic poets rarely, and that only when compelled by metre (Aesch. *P. V.* 206, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη). In Attic prose authors (as represented by the latest critical editions) the temporal augment is losing ground, but, in Isocrates, BS and Benseler, in accordance with the MSS, edit *ἡδυνάμην, ἡδυνήθη* (*constanter est η, uno excepto loco Callim.* § 27, *ubi vulg. ἐδύνατο o legabatur.* Bens. praef. xxi), *e. g.* *Phil.* § 129. *Nicochl.* § 33. (v. Veitch, *Gk. Verbs*, s. v.)

104. *οὐδὲ ταραχὰς κ.τ.λ.*] The whole of this passage is pervaded by an under-current of insinuation against Sparta.

στασιάζοιεν.] *sc. οἱ πολῖται*, which is readily supplied from *πόλις*: cf.

- οιεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ὁμόνοιαν κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν νομίζοντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις διφκοῦμεν, συμμαχικῶς ἀλλ' οὐ δεσποτικῶς βουλευόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅλων μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστατοῦντες, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐκάστους
 105 ἐλευθέρους ἐὼντες εἶναι, καὶ τῷ μὲν πλήθει βοηθοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ δυναστείαις πολεμοῦντες, δεινὸν οἰόμενοι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀλίγοις εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐνδεεστέρους, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μηδὲν χεῖρους ὄντας, ἀπελαύνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, δ
 ἔτι δὲ κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος οὐσης τοὺς μὲν τυραννεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μετοικεῖν, καὶ φύσει πολίτας ὄντας νόμῳ τῆς πολιτείας
 106 ἀποστερεῖσθαι. τοιαυτ' ἔχοντες ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐπιτιμᾶν, καὶ πλείω τούτων, τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν, ἥνπερ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεστήσαμεν, ἣν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ
 τι δεῖ διὰ μακροτέρων ἐπαινεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ συντόμως ἔχοντα δηλωῶσαι περὶ αὐτῆς. μετὰ γὰρ ταύτης οἰκοῦντες e

Areop. § 51, οὐ πολέμων ἡ πόλις ἔγεμεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. (Schm.).

105. τῷ μὲν πλήθει κ.τ.λ.] 'Assisting the commons,' i.e. the democratical party.

δεινὸν κ.τ.λ.] 'Deeming it a shame that the many should be under the few.'

μετοικεῖν] *lit.* 'to be a resident alien (μέτοικος).' v. *Dict. Antiq.* or Kennedy's transl. of *Dem. Lept.* App. 3. The position of a μέτοικος at Athens is here used metaphorically to denote the position of the governed classes, under an oligarchy. '...die einen die Herren, die andern die Schutzverwandten spielten,' is Benseiler's expressive transl. of this clause.

For metaphorical words similar to τυραννεῖν, μετοικεῖν, cf. § 131, εἰλωτεύειν and περιόικους καταστήσαι.

φύσει(ν)νόμῳ.] 'By nature or birth' ('by law or convention.' These two words are frequently contrasted: e.g. Plato, *Protag.* 337 C, D (Hippias loq.) ἡγοῦμαι ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς συγγενεῖς τε καὶ οἰκείους καὶ πολίτας ἀπαντας εἶναι φύσει, οὐ νόμῳ. τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ φύσει συγγενές ἐστω, ὃ δὲ

νόμος τύραννος ὡν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ παρὰ φύσιν βιάζεται (with Wayte's n.), *Menex.* 239 A, ἡ ἰσογονία ἡμᾶς ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἰσονομίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητεῖν κατὰ νόμον, and *Isocr. ad Dem.* § 10, κρείττω φύσιν νόμον. This contrast between φύσις and νόμος, 'nature' and 'convention,' was not uncommon among the Sophists, but was by no means confined to them. (v. further Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Philos.* § 183, Mr Cope's art. in *ζ. of Cl. and Sacral Philol.* I. 155 sqq., and Sir A. Grant's ed. of *Aristot. Eth.* Vol. I. p. 107 sqq. new ed.)

106. μετὰ ταύτης οἰκοῦντες ἐβδομήκοντ' ἔτη διετέλεσαν κ.τ.λ.] ταύτης must refer to πολιτείας, not to ἡγεμονίας.

The period of 70 years here mentioned has given rise to much dispute. The various views may be summarized as follows:

(i) Wolf, Coray, Spohn, Dindorf, Bremi, and Rauchenstein refer the 70 years to the period between the establishment of the Athenian Empire at the end of the Persian war, and the battle of Aegospotami,

ἐβδομήκοντ' ἔτη διετέλεσαν, ἄπειροι μὲν τυραννίδων, ἔλευ-

which proved the death-blow to the Athenian supremacy (*i.e.* 477—405 B.C.).

(ii) Wieland (one of the translators of the *Paneg.*) understands the time between the expulsion of the Peisistratidae and the dispute between Corinth and Corcyra, which aided in bringing about the Peloponnesian war in 431 (*i.e.* 510—435 B.C.).

(iii) Morus and Lange explain it of the time between the institution of *annual* archons and Cylon's attempt to make himself master of Athens (*i.e.* 683—612 B.C.).

Each of these explanations has been opposed on various grounds.

(i) is rendered doubtful by the fact that, between 477 and 405, Athens can hardly be said to have been 'at peace with all the world,' as the Peloponnesian war, with all its feuds at home and battles abroad, occupies the last 27 years of that period. And further, the supporters of this view are constrained to admit that the words ἀσταλαστοὶ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς are not in strict accordance with history, but must be accepted as an exaggerated contrast to the fierce factions of the Spartan supremacy.

A similar objection may be raised to (ii), on the ground that in the period between 510 and 435 Athens was fighting against Boeotia and Chalcis (in 506), against Thebes, Corinth, Aegina, and Epidaurus (in 457), against Sicyon and Acarnania (in 454), against Thebes and Sparta (in 447), and against Samos (in 441), to say nothing of the Great Persian War. (Bens. transl. p. 200 n.)—In fact, the acceptance of either (i) or (ii) involves the grossest misrepresentation on the part of Isocr. He may be guilty of exaggeration, of inconsistency, of rhetorical colouring, but such a glaring inaccuracy is beyond belief.

The third view is, perhaps, less

open to objection. One of the strongest points that has been urged against it is the fact that the period in question (683—612) is comparatively obscure and (unlike the 70 years of the first view) seldom mentioned. It is a well-known characteristic of Isocr. to speak in praise of the 'good old times' (witness *Panath.* § 131—148, and *Areop.* *passim*); but Benseler's attempt to prove by quoting *de Pace*, § 75, *Panath.* § 139, that *this very period* is mentioned elsewhere by Isocr. is far from successful.—Another objection to this view is thus stated by Baiter (with reference to the next section, ὑπὲρ ὧν κ.τ.λ.), 'Quis sane mentis orator contenderit Atheniensibus deberi magnam gratiam, quod ipsi per tot annos felices fuerint?' To answer this, it may be suggested, in passing, that ὑπὲρ ὧν possibly refers to the general sense of the previous context, and esp. to §§ 103—5, while § 106 is a short parenthetical argument.—This view has been combated at length by Wilh. Vischer in an exhaustive article in Schneidewin's *Philologus* (vol. x. pp. 245—9).

Thus far, the account given of the various explanations of the passage goes on the supposition that *διετέλεσαμεν* (which necessarily refers to the Athenians) is the correct reading. At this point the controversy assumes a new phase: *διετέλεσαμεν* is the MS reading, *διετέλεσαν* the conjectural emendation of Bekker. This has been adopted by BS, Dindorf, Pinzger, Rauchenstein (ed. 1 and 3), Schneider, and Benseler [in the Teubner series (1851)]. In a later ed. of part of Isocr. with German Trans. and notes (1854) he returns to the MS reading, and defends the third of the views given above].

The conjecture *διετέλεσαν* is strongly confirmed by Lys. (?) *Or. Funebr.* § 55, ἐβδομήκοντα μὲν ἔτη

- θεροι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀσπασίαστοι δὲ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, εἰρήνην δ' ἄγοντες πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. (λα΄.) 63
 107 Ὑπὲρ ὧν προσήκει τοὺς εὖ φρονούντας μεγάλην χάριν ἔχειν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς κληρουχίας ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζειν, ἃς ἡμεῖς εἰς

τῆς θαλάττης ἄρξαντες, ἀσπασιάστους δὲ παρασχόντες τοὺς συμμάχους, and is ably defended by Vischer (*l.c.*). I shall be content with giving his explanation alone. He understands not 'our ancestors' (v. *Panath.* § 54) but 'our allies,' as the nom. to διετέλεσαν, and this view has the great advantage of suiting the whole of the context. If the passage is fairly measured by a rhetorical standard, all is intelligible. The 70 years refer to the period of the Athenian supremacy, during which the states confederate with Athens enjoyed the advantages of her democratical constitution. During this period, her allies were free from tyrants, although before and after the time of her supremacy it was far otherwise (contrast, with Schneider, § 117, αἰμὲν ὑπὸ τυράννοις εἰσι); they were free from the Persians, although before and after that period they were not so (cf. § 117, τῶν δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι δεσπόται καθεστήκασιν); they were, as Isocr. seems to think, less disturbed by faction than during the Spartan supremacy (cf. § 116, ἐν τῷ τείχεσι οἱ πολῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχονται); they were at peace with the outer world, instead of fighting with the Lydians and Persians, as was the case with the Ionians of the 6th century; and lastly, although they frequently aided Athens in her wars, there was an early inclination to substitute money-payment for personal service (Thuc. i. 97—99) which may partially justify the expression εἰρήνην ἄγοντες πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους (cf. § 115, καταποντιστὰς μὲν τὴν θάλατταν κατέχουσι, πελτασταὶ δὲ τὰς πόλεις καταλαμβάνουσι). After a review of all the above opinions and others unrecorded here, I am compelled to the conclusion that,

whichever view is adopted, something may be said against it; that if the MS reading *must* be retained, the third explanation is the least objectionable; if Bekker's conjecture (which I have ventured to print in the text) is accepted, Vischer's view is most satisfactory.

σφᾶς αὐτοὺς.] The use of the reflex. pron. of the 3rd person, although most suitable to διετέλεσαν, is not conclusive against διετέλεσαμεν. v. *ad Dem.* § 14, ἐαυτοῦ. n.

107. ὑπὲρ ὧν.] If διετέλεσαμεν is retained in § 106, this must refer to §§ 103—105 and not to § 106.

τὰς κληρουχίας.] On the *Cleruchii* (Athenian citizens who received allotments, κλήροι, in conquered territory) v. *Dict. Antig.*—The summary of instances of κληρουχίαι given in Benseler's n. includes the settlements in Lemnos and Imbros (in 556 and 510), in Euboea (506), in Scyros (476), and (under the influence of Pericles) in Naxos, Andros, Euboea, and Sinope, and lastly (during the Pelop. war), in Aegina, Mytilene, Potidaea, Scione, and Colophon.

ὀνειδίζειν.] 'In respect to the *Kleruchies*, or out-settlements of Athenian citizens on the lands of allies revolted and reconquered—we may remark that they are not noticed as a grievance in the treatise of Xenophon, *de Repub. Athen.*, nor in any of the anti-Athenian orations of Thucydides. They appear, however, as matters of crimination after the extinction of the empire, and at the moment when Athens was again rising into a position such as to inspire the hope of reviving it. For at the close of the Peloponnesian war, which was also the destruction of the empire, all the *Kleruchs* were

τὰς ἐρρημουμένας τῶν πόλεων φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν χωρίων ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ πλεονεξίαν ἐξεπέμπομεν. σημεῖον δὲ τούτων ἔχοντες γὰρ χώραν μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλαχίστην, ἀρχὴν δὲ μεγίστην, καὶ κεκτημένοι τριήρεις διπλα-
 108 σίας μὲν ἢ σύμπαντες, δυναμένας δὲ πρὸς δις τοσαύτας κιν-
 δυνεύειν, ὑποκειμένης τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἣ καὶ ο
 πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν τῆς θαλάττης εὐφυῶς εἶχε καὶ τὴν ἄλ-
 λην ἀρετὴν ἀπασῶν τῶν νήσων διέφερε, κρατοῦντες αὐτῆς

driven home again, and deprived of their outlying property, which reverted to various insular proprietors. These latter were terrified at the idea that Athens might afterwards try to resume these lost rights: hence the subsequent outcry against the Kleruchies.' Grote, *H. G.* IV. 175, new ed.

σημεῖον δὲ... ἔχοντες γάρ.] For this use of γάρ (*inchoativum*) v. § 86 n.

ἔχοντες κ.τ.λ.] The sentence begins in such a manner as to lead us to expect οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥῆθμεν as the principal verb, instead of which we have an equivalent phrase οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπῆρε. This is one of the simplest forms of *Anacoluthon*.

ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολ. ἐλαχίστην.] 'Very small in comparison to the number of our citizens.' For ὡς cf. Thuc. III. 113, ἀπιστοῦ τὸ πλῆθος λέγεται ἀπολέσθαι ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως.

The number of full citizens, or those who had votes in the Ἐκκλησία is generally reckoned at 20,000 (Plat. *Critias*, p. 112 D, &c), the total population of Attica (including slaves) at 500,000; and lastly the area at more than 700 square miles. The proportion thus obtained represents a density of population approximating to that of Staffordshire in 1861.

καὶ κεκτημένοι.] v. table of various readings.

τριήρεις διπλασίας κ.τ.λ.] Alluding partly to the 200 vessels which formed the fleet of Athens during the year 480 B. C. At Artemisium

the Athenians manned 127 ships, which including the subsequent reinforcement of 53 vessels and the 20 lent to the Chalcideans make up exactly 200, while the other allies contributed 124. At Salamis the total number of vessels belonging to Athens was also 200, and the popular account of the proportion of vessels contributed by Athens to the allied fleet may explain the present passage. Cf. § 98. n. It may also be noticed that, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (as well as in the time of Demosthenes), her fleet consisted of 300 triremes; while the united fleet of the Peloponnesians was never apparently greater than 112 (Thuc. II. 13, VIII. 79, and Dem. *Fals. Leg.* p. 369).

σύνπαντες.] v. table of various readings.

108. ὑποκειμένης κ.τ.λ.] 'Although Euboea lay within reach of Attica,' 'was commanded by Attica.' ὑποκείσθαι means more than the ordinary word ἐπικείσθαι, which would indicate only the proximity of Euboea to the coast of Attica.—(v. table of various readings.)

ἀρετὴν.] 'Excellence:' alluding not only to the excellent pasturage and corn-fields of Euboea (Thuc. VII. 28, ἣ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρακομιδὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας, &c.) but also to the copper and iron mines. (On the famous vine of Euboea, v. Soph. *Fragm.* 239.) For the importance of the island, cf. Hdt. v. 31. Εὐβοίη, νήσω μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμωνι, and Thuc. VIII. 96 (quoted by Morus)

μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις εἰδότες καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτους μάλιστα εὐδοκίμουντας, ὅσοι τοὺς ὁμόρους ἀναστατοὺς ποιήσαντες ἄφθονον καὶ ῥάθυμον αὐτοῖς κατεστήσαντο τὸν βίον, ὅμως οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπῆρε περὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν νῆσον ἑξαμαρτεῖν, 109 ἀλλὰ μόνοι δὴ τῶν μεγάλῃν δύναμιν λαβόντων περιείδομεν

τοσαύτη ἡ ξυμφορὰ (the revolt of Euboea in 411 B.C.) ἐπεγεγένητο, ἐν ἡ ναὺς τε καὶ τὸ μέγιστον Εὐβοίαν ἀπολωλέκεαν, ἐξ ἧς πλείω ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὠφέλουτο.

κρατοῦντες αὐτῆς κ.τ.λ.] 'Though we had it in our power more than our own territory.' Cf. *Phil.* § 6, λόγῳ παραδοὺς τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν ταύτην (sc. Ἀμφίπολιν) αὐτὸς ἔργῳ κρατήσεως αὐτῆς. Isocrates means that Euboea was virtually in the hands of Athens owing to the naval power of the latter; so much so that by a rhetorical exaggeration (as Wolf, Baiter, and Bens. have noticed) even Attica is here said to have been less in the power of Athens. This explanation is perhaps simpler than that of Morus 'obtinentes i. e. obtinere volentes.'—'Artificiosa explicatione hic locus minime indiget.' Baiter.

τῶν Ἑλλήνων.] e.g. the Spartans, in their conquest of Messene.

ὅσοι.] Cf. *Nicocl.* § 4, 37, ἐκείνους... ὅσοι... (v. table of various readings).

οὐδὲν ἑξαμαρτεῖν.] This statement is on the whole fair, but must be accepted with some caution: in the time of Cleisthenes, the Athenians sent 4000 *Cleruchi* to Euboea (Hdt. v. 77) and, after the revolt in 445 B.C. and the re-conquest by Pericles, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογία κατεστήσαντο, Ἑστιάϊδς δ' ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον (Thuc. i. 114).

109. μόνοι δὴ... αἰτίαν ἔχόντων] 'We alone, among those who obtained great power, allowed ourselves to live in greater embarrassment than those who have the reputation of being slaves.' This translation is in accordance with the most common mean-

ing of αἰτίαν ἔχειν. Cf. *Hel.* § 15, ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν προσήκει περὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν ἔχόντων, ἐπαυεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τινι διαφέροντας, and this explanation is adopted by Wolf, Baiter, Rauchenstein, &c. The fact that τῶν δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἔχόντων is parallel to τῶν μεγάλῃν δύναμιν λαβόντων suggests the possibility of the former being a direct ἀντίθετον to the latter; hence as the latter refers to 'the powerful' in general, the former may similarly refer to 'slaves' in general; but the more popular view makes τῶν δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἔχόντων mean τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὓς φασιν αἰτιώμενοι δουλεύειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, implying that the allies of Athens have the imputation of being the slaves of Athens.

Morus, Wieland, Coray, &c., make the phrase mean 'in quibus causa erat quare servirent; digni servitute,' a meaning which is hardly borne out by the passage quoted in its favour, *de Pace*, § 138, τούτων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχομεν.

Benseler translates thus: 'Als die, welche zur Unterjochung Veranlassung gaben.' He refers τῶν—ἐχόντων directly to the Euboeans, and explains that 'they prompted and tempted the Athenians to enslave them': lit. 'gave occasion to the Athenians to enslave them.' This view is very plausible; but I am unable to find any instance of αἰτίαν ἔχειν in this meaning. (For a full account of all the various renderings see Benseler's *Trans.* p. 205).

[As far as I know, αἰτίαν ἔχειν (with the exception of Plat. *Phaed.* 101 c, where it means 'have you, do you know, any other cause...?')

ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπορωτέρως ζῶντας τῶν δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἐχόντων. καίτοι βουλόμενοι πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἂν δὴ πού τῆς μὲν Σκιωναίων γῆς ἐπεθυμήσαμεν, ἣν Πλαταιέων τοῖς ὡς ἡμᾶς καταφυγοῦσι φαινόμεθα παραδόντες, τοσαύτην δὲ χώραν παρελίπομεν, ἥ πάντας ἂν ἡμᾶς εὐπορωτέρους ἐποίησεν. d

110 (λβ'.) Τοιούτων τοιουν ἡμῶν γεγεννημένων καὶ τοσαύτην πίστιν δεδωκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν τολμᾶσι κατηγορεῖν οἱ τῶν δεκαρχιῶν κοινωνήσαντες καὶ τὰς

signifies nearly the same as δοκεῖν, δόξαν ἔχειν, 'to have the reputation, character, i.e. the credit or the imputation of...' the former in *de Pace*, § 138, the two commingled in Thuc. I. 83, 3, varied by μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι, II. 11, 10.—Benseler's trans. seems to me, if αἰτίαν ἔχειν can be so distorted, to require δουλώσαι or -σασθαι.' R.S.]

Σκιωναίων.] Cf. § 100. n.

Πλαταιέων—καταφυγοῦσι.] Allusion to the 212 Plataeans, who escaped to Athens in 427 B.C. At the end of the Peloponnesian war they were forced to leave Scione, and once more found a welcome in Athens. At the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.) they were restored to their city (Isocr. *Plataic*. § 13 sqq.), which was subsequently destroyed by the Thebans in 372. They once more fled to Athens, where their wrongs were set forth by Isocrates himself in the speech called the *Plataicus*, (probably delivered before the ἐκκλησία by one of the Plataeans), but it was not till after the battle of Chaeronea (in 338 B.C.) that they were at length reinstated by Philip of Macedon.

τοσαύτην.] The length of the island (from Histiaea to Geraestus) is about 100 miles; the breadth varies from 4 to 30 miles.

§§ 110—114. *The partisans of Lacedaemon accuse Athens of selfishness and cruelty: Athens can retort by pointing to the conduct of her accusers during the Spartan supremacy. Those very partisans com-*

mitted every kind of injustice, and paid constant court to the lawlessness and treachery of Sparta. They deliberately became the slaves of Lysander, and honoured the murderers of their fellow-citizens; 112—3, they reduced us all to a state of brutal apathy, by involving us in disasters that left us no leisure to feel for one another. And these are the men who are not ashamed to accuse us, these who doomed to death untried a greater number than Athens put on trial during the whole of her supremacy. 114. It would be impossible to dwell at length on all their enormities, I can say thus much, that whereas a single decree would have been enough to put an end to the severities of our administration, nothing could ever remedy all the bloodshed and the lawlessness of theirs.

110. οἱ τῶν δεκαρχιῶν κοινωνήσαντες.] Not 'the Lacedaemonians,' but their partisans.—After the victory of Aegospotami (September or October, 405 B.C.) all Greece at once submitted to Sparta, except Athens and Samos, and even these yielded in the course of a few months. In the greater number of cities Lysander established an oligarchy of ten citizens, or a Decarchy, composed of his personal nominees and confederates: while he at the same time planted in each a Lacedaemonian harmost or governor, with a garrison, to uphold the new oligarchy. Athens surrendered in April 404 B.C.; then followed the nomination of the

αὐτῶν πατρίδας διαλυμνημένοι, καὶ μικρὰς μὲν ποιήσαντες δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀδικίας, οὐδεμίαν δὲ λιπόντες ὑπερβολὴν τοῖς αὐτοῖς βουλομένους γενέσθαι πονηροῖς, ἀλλὰ φάσκοντες μὲν λακωνίζειν, τὰναντία δ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύοντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν Μηλίων ὀδυρόμενοι συμφορὰς, περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτῶν πολίτας ἀνήκεστα τολμήσαντες ἐξαμαρ-
111 τύν. ποῖον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα διέφυγεν; ἢ τί τῶν αἰσχυρῶν

Thirty tyrants, under the dictation of Lysander; after a reign of terror that lasted for 8 months, they were deposed and a fresh oligarchy of Ten, consisting in part of the less violent members of the Thirty, was appointed in their stead. To the oppression of the δεκαρχίαι full allusion is made in the important §§ that follow. (See Grote's *H. G.* P. II. chaps. 65 and 72.)

δεκαρχῶν is the reading of Cod. Ambr. in the present passage and in *Phil.* § 95, *Panath.* § 68. The Cod. Urb. has δεκαδαρχῶν here, and δεκαρχῶν in *Panath.* l. c., and the latter form is also found in Cod. Vat. *Phil.* l. c. The text of BS always adopts the longer form, that of Benseler the shorter. The former is supported by Harpocration: δεκαδαρχία· Ἰσοκράτης· τὰς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατασταθείσας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δεκαδαρχίας συνεχῶς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἱστορικοί, κ.τ.λ., the latter by Suidas, and Xenophon *Hell.* III. 4. 2, τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπὸ ἐκείνου [sc. Lysander] ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. The word δεκάδαρχος is frequently used by Xenophon in its proper sense, 'an officer in command of a *dekás*,' a *decurio*.

οὐδεμίαν λιπόντες ὑπερβολὴν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Leaving no power of surpassing them.' Cf. § 4, and Dem. *Aristocr.* p. 689, § 207, τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν ἐπιγεγομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι.

φάσκοντες.] 'Pretending,' Isocr. almost always uses φάσκειν in a bad sense; e.g. *de Pace*, § 121, τοῖς φιλεῖν μὲν τὸν δῆμον φάσκουσιν, ὅλην δὲ τὴν

πόλιν λυμαινομένοις. Cf. *Soph. El.* 319, φησὶν γε· φάσκων δ' οὐδὲν ὦν λέγει ποιεῖ.

λακωνίζειν.] 'To laconize,' i.e. either 'to imitate the manners, dress, &c. of the Lacedaemonians' (Plat. *Protag.* 342 B, Dem. *Conon.* § 34, and Aristoph. *Aves*, 1281 sqq.) or to favour their policy (cf. *Μηδίξεν*, 'Ἀττικίζεν', 'Ἀργολίζεν', *Φιλισπίζεν*). Cf. *de Pace*, § 108, οὐχ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἀττικίζόντων πολυπραγμοσύνη λακωνίζειν τὰς πόλεις ἐποίησεν, ἡ δὲ τῶν λακωνιζόντων ὕβρις ἀττικίζεν τὰς αὐτὰς ταύτας ἡνάγκασεν; The members of the oligarchical boards not only favoured the policy of the Lacedaemonians, and made that policy a pretext for their enormities, but also pretended to imitate their character; their real conduct (says Isocr.) was the reverse of their profession. v *Areop.* § 61, *Panath.* § 217.

ἐκείνοις.] sc. τοῖς Λακωνισιν οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις implied in λακωνίζειν. A species of sense-construction (commonly called constr. κατὰ σύνεσιν or σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαίνεμεν), Jelf (*Kühner*). § 378 sqq. *Madv. Synt.* § 216 R, 2. In *Excurs.* x. to Bremi's ed. Baiter quotes more than 20 instances from Isocrates: e.g. § 90, πρὸς τὸ πεῖζον, (pl. in sense)...κωλύσοντας αὐτούς, § 134, τὴν Ἀσίαν καρποῦσθαι καὶ τῷ μὲν (sc. the king of Asia) οὐδὲν προυργαλτερον κ.τ.λ. and *de Perm.* § 195, τοῖς αὐτοῖς λόγοις χρώμενος ἀκμάζων καὶ παύμενος αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς ἀκμῆς). Cf. *ad Dem.* § 21, ἐγκράτειαν... τοιοῦτος (= ἐγκρατῆς).

ἡ δεινῶν οὐ διεξήλθον; οἱ τοὺς μὲν ἀνομοτάτους πιστοτά- 64
τους ἐνόμιζον, τοὺς δὲ προδότας ὥσπερ εὐεργέτας ἐθερά-
πευον, ἡρῶντο δὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἐν δουλείῃν ὥστ' εἰς τὰς
αὐτῶν πατρίδας ὑβρίζειν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐτίμων τοὺς αὐτόχειρας

ἡ δεινῶν.] c. codd. Urb. Ambr. (followed by BS and Bens.). καὶ δεινῶν Bekk. Dindf.—*Frequens confusio harum particularum* (Bastii *Comment. Palaeogr.*)

111. ἀνομοτάτους.] The reading of Wolf's ed., ἀνομοτάτους, has apparently no authority except that of a marginal note in a MS of the 11th cent. (Cod. Vat.) used by Coray (II. p. 46).

Εἰλωτῶν ἐνί.] sc. Lysander, the Spartan commander. He was born of poor parents, and according to Phylarchus (histor. fl. 3rd cent. B.C.), quoted by Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.* VI. p. 271, belonged to the Μόθakes, who were probably children of Helots, brought up as companions (σύντροφοι) to the richer sort, and finally emancipated (ἐλευθεροὶ μὲν, οὐ μὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετέχουσι δὲ τῆς παιδείας πάσης).

Εἰλωτῶν.] On the Helots (the serfs of Laconia) v. *Dict. Antiq.* or Grote's *H. G.* II. p. 139 sqq. new ed. (Cf. Plato, *Legg.* 776 C. and § 131. n.)

ἐνί.] This is the reading of Cod. Urb., followed by Rauchenst. Schn. and Benseler (in Teubner series): ἐνίους is the reading of Cod. Ambr. followed by Bekker, Dindf., and dubiously by BS. Benseler (*transl.* p. 207. n.) has on, I think, insufficient grounds deserted his former reading in favour of ἐνίους.

αὐτόχειρας καὶ φονέας τῶν πολ.] 'The assassins and murderers of their own citizens.' The apparently otiose words καὶ φονέας, placed in brackets by Morus, Coray, Dindorf and Benseler (in the Teubner series), are found in all the MSS. They are possibly added to secure a παρονομασία with γονέας (v. § 45. n.) and to give additional clearness to

the rarer word αὐτόχειρας. Twin expressions like this are very common in Isocr. e.g. *de Perm.* § 130, τὰς ταραχὰς καὶ τὴν τύρβην, *id.* § 11, συναρμόσαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν, *Ephr.* IX. 8, γέμει καὶ μεστός ἐστι (is fraught and filled), *Phil.* § 43, ἀθήσειε καὶ σκέψαιτο, *Areop.* § 4, συντέτακται καὶ συνακολουθεῖ, *de Pace*, § 41, μάχεσθαι καὶ παραφρονεῖν, and *Areop.* § 12, διεσκαρφήσάμεθα καὶ διελύσαμεν αὐτάς. In several of the above passages it will be observed that one of the words is less common and more expressive than the other, and that the more ordinary word serves to soften the harshness and to light up the obscurity of the rarer word. The word αὐτόχειρ is in prose seldom used *absolutely* in the sense of murderer, and still more rarely with a gen. of the person murdered. (For an instance, may be quoted Dem. *Mid.* p. 549, αὐτόχειρά μου.) It may therefore well be helped out by the addition of τοὺς φονέας.—Themist. *Or.* IV. p. 67. 26 (quoted by Strange in Jahn's *Jahrb. Philol.* suppl. 3, p. 575) has τὸν αὐθέντην καὶ παλαμαῖον.—The other passages in which Isocr. uses the word are *Plataic.* § 29, τοὺς αὐτόχειρας ἐξελεγεῖν, *Phil.* § 150, οὐ γὰρ αὐτόχειρες οὐτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐτε τῶν κακῶν (οἱ θεοὶ) γίγνονται, and *Aegin.* § 19, ἀπέκτευναν αὐτόχειρες γενόμενοι.

The application of the strong term αὐτόχειρας to Lysander and his partisans may be illustrated by the following passage in Harpocration's lexicon: Αὐθέντης· Ἀυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἰσοδωμον ἰδίῳ ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τῶν λ' (=the 30 tyrants), οἱ δὲ ἐτέρων εἰργάζοντο τοὺς φόνους· ὁ γὰρ αὐθέντης αἰεὶ τὸν αὐτόχειρα δηλοῖ. Of Lysander in particular Plutarch (*vit. Lys.* 13) uses the words πολλὰς

- 112 καὶ φονεας τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τοὺς γονέας τοὺς αὐτῶν, εἰς
τοῦτο δ' ὠμότητος ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς κατέστησαν, ὥστε πρὸ
τοῦ μὲν διὰ τὴν παρούσαν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ταῖς μικραῖς
ἀτυχαῖς πολλοὺς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἔχειν τοὺς συμπενηθήσοντας, ο
ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν
ἐπαυσάμεθ' ἀλλήλους ἐλεοῦντες. οὐδενὶ γὰρ τοσαύτην σχο-
113 λὴν παρέλιπον ὥσθ' ἐτέρῳ συναχθεσθῆναι. τίνος γὰρ οὐκ
ἐφίκοντο; ἢ τίς οὕτω πόρρῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἦν πραγμάτων,
ὅστις οὐκ ἐγγὺς ἠναγκάσθη γενέσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν, εἰς ἃς
αἱ τοιαῦται φύσεις ἡμᾶς κατέστησαν; εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνονται
τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις οὕτως ἀνόμως διαθέντες καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας c
ἀδίκως κατηγοροῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τῶν
δικῶν καὶ τῶν γραφῶν τῶν ποτε παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων λέγειν
τολμῶσιν, αὐτοὶ πλείους ἐν τρισὶ μνησὶν ἀκρίτους ἀποκτελ-
114 ναντες ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἔκρινεν. φυγὰς
δὲ καὶ στάσεις καὶ νόμων συγχύσεις καὶ πολιτειῶν μετα-
βολὰς, ἔτι δὲ παίδων ὕβρεις καὶ γυναικῶν αἰσχύνας καὶ d
χρημάτων ἀρπαγὰς τίς ἂν δύναίτο διεξελθεῖν; πλὴν τοσοῦ-

παραγνόμενος αὐτὸς σφαγαῖς (at Thasos).

113. τίς οὕτω... ὅστις οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη.] 'The relative with any tense of the indic. can be used to denote a result, where ὥστε might have been expected. This occurs chiefly after negatives, or interrogatives implying a negative. Cf. § 185, τίς οὕτως... ῥάθυμὸς ἔστιν, ὅστις οὐ μετασκεῖν βουλῆσεται ταύτης τῆς στρατείας.' Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 65, n. 5.

δικῶν... γραφῶν.] On the full difference between *δίκη* (a lawsuit) and *γραφή* (an indictment) v. *Dict. Antig.* s.v. *Dikē*.

ἐν τρισὶ μνησὶν κ.τ.λ.] It is unnecessary to refer this to any sharply defined period in the duration of the oligarchical boards. It is sufficient to notice that the 3 months are doubtless included in the well-known 8 months during which the Thirty were in power.

The number of citizens put to death during those months was 1500, According to *Areop.* § 67, and *Lochit.* § 11, αὐται γὰρ αἱ φύσεις εἰσὶν αἱ ... κατασκαψάσασαι τὰ τεῖχη τῆς πατρίδος, πεντακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους ἀκρίτους ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν πολιτῶν. Plutarch, after speaking of the atrocities of Lysander at Miletus, says (*vit. Lys.* 19), ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δημοτικῶν φόνος οὐκ ἀριθμητός.

114. παίδων ὕβρεις κ. γυναικῶν αἰσχύνας.] Cf. the story of Aristodemus, the harcest of Oresus, who seized a beautiful youth, carried him off, and put him to death. The father went to Sparta, and after an unsuccessful appeal for reparation, put himself to death. Isocr. is speaking here of the δεκαρχαὶ alone. None of these outrages are ever ascribed to the Thirty, *Grote, H. G.* vi. 351—3.

τον εἰπεῖν ἔχω καθ' ἀπάντων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν δεινὰ
ῥαδίως ἂν τις ἐνὶ ψηφίσματι διέλυσε, τὰς δὲ σφαγὰς καὶ

καθ' ἀπάντων.] Not 'against one and all of our opponents,' as *e.g.* in *de Pace*, § 56, and *ad Nicocl.* § 47, λέγω δ' οὐ καθ' ἀπάντων ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐνόχων τοῖς εἰρημένους ὄντων, but 'in general' op. to 'in particular,' as in *Hel.* § 1, *de Perm.* § 107, ἀθροώτατον καὶ μάλιστα καθ' ἀπάντων, and esp. *Panath.* § 56, where we have καθ' ἑκάστων διεξιέναι (ὁ λόγος καθ' ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν. (So Rauchenst. Schn. and Bens.)

ἐνὶ ψηφίσματι.] Isocr. here says that 'one decree' would have been enough to put an end to the severities (τὰ δεινὰ) of the Athenian administration. The interpretation of ἐνὶ ψηφίσματι depends on the exact meaning of τὰ δεινὰ, and on this point the commentators differ. Wolf refers τὰ δεινὰ to the atrocities committed by Athens with regard to Mitylene (Thuc. III. 49, in 427 B.C.), Scione (Thuc. V. 32, in 421 B.C.) and Melos (Thuc. V. 116, in 416 B.C.). His actual words are these, '*Diodorus scribit lib. XIII, Athenenses ψηφίσματι Μιτυλήνας, Μήλον, Σκυζωνην ἄρδην ἀναιρεῖναι. Hoc igitur vult Isocrates; Si quis illi decreto irati populi intercessisset; nullum crudele facinus objici potuisset Atheniensibus.*' Wolf apparently thinks that *one decree* covered all the three cases (a fact which is utterly at variance with the dates), and that therefore one counter-decree would have been sufficient to abolish the atrocities in question. (I may notice in passing that his quotation from Diodorus XIII. which has misled one or two editors, is only a loose abstract of chap. 30 of that book).—Benseler (*trans.* p. 210) approves of the drift of Wolf's explanation, and himself explains the passage thus: 'Athens has wronged certain of her confederates by a decree of the people, and could easily have healed the mischief by another decree, as she actually did in the case of Mitylene.'

The immediate context suggests

another explanation of τὰ δεινὰ. We are there told that the enemies of Athens had the assurance to criticise the legal proceedings that took place before her tribunals in the days of her supremacy. A reference to *Panath.* § 63 (κατηγορεῖν τῆς πόλεως ... καὶ τὰς τε δίκας καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰ ἐνθάδε γιγνόμενας τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν τῶν φόρων εἰσπραξιν διαβαλεῖν) shews that one of the main points of accusation was the jurisdiction of the Athenian tribunals over the confederate and dependent states. This jurisdiction, although on the whole fairly carried out (v. Thuc. I. 77. 1 and VIII. 48. 5), was nevertheless the subject of blame with the supporters of Sparta, *e.g.* the philo-laconian Xenophon in speaking of this very point, says (*Rep. Ath.* I. 16), τοὺς μὲν τοῦ δήμου σώζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντίους ἀπολλύουσιν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις. If the words τὰ δεινὰ refer to the severities of these tribunals, the ἐν ψήφισμα of the text must mean a single decree granting αὐτονομία to the confederates of Athens, and thus abolishing the trials in question. It so happens that in the Archonship of Nausinicus (378 B.C.), two years after the publication of the *Paneg.*, such a decree (as observed by Sauppe in Rauchenstein's n.) actually formed part of the terms of the restored confederation.

In this case Isocr. says that the wrongs of the allies under the rule of Athens *might* have been done away by a single decree of this nature, but the lawlessness of the Harmosts and Decarchies (against which there was no appeal to Sparta) would remain irreparable.

This view is in the main identical with that of Rauchenstein and Schneider, it is confirmed by the sequel with its pointed mention of the false αὐτονομία of a compact negotiated between Sparta and Persia, it harmonises with the previous context,

τὰς ἀνομίας τὰς ἐπὶ τούτων γενομένας οὐδεὶς ἂν ἰάσασθαι δύναιτο.

- 115 (λγ.) Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν παροῦσαν εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτονομίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις μὲν οὐκ ἐνούσαν, ἐν δὲ 2 ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀναγεγραμμένην, ἄξιον ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν. τίς γὰρ ἂν τοιαύτης καταστάσεως ἐπιθυμήσειεν, ἐν ᾗ καταποντισταὶ μὲν τὴν θάλατταν κατέ-

and is, perhaps, more satisfactory than the view advocated by Wolf and Benseler.

§§ 115—128. *Even the present state of peace, which has been brought about by Sparta, is worthless in comparison with the times of the supremacy of Athens. The terms of that peace have proved a delusion, and the promised independence has not come. As soon as the supremacy passed from Athens to Sparta, the Barbarians obtained the command of the sea, and by the recent convention (the terms of which are very different to those which Athens in former days imposed on Persia) the great King (as we now call him) was made dictator of the destinies of Greece. 122—4. The Ionians were surrendered to him, and are now the victims of cruel oppression; 125—8. Sparta, which now claims the supremacy, is day by day taking the field against the Greeks, and has entered into an alliance, for all time, with the Barbarians.*

115. τὴν παροῦσαν εἰρήνην.] Including to the peace or convention of Antalcidas (ἡ ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνη) 387 B.C. The terms are thus given in Xenophon, *Hell.* v. i. 31: 'King Artaxerxes' [*Memnon*: reigned 405—359 B.C.] 'thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus shall belong to him. He thinks it just also, to leave all the other Grecian cities, both small and great, independent (αὐτονομίους) except Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, which are to belong to Athens as of old time. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along

with those who are of the same mind, by land and by sea, with ships and with money.' On this degrading convention, on which Isocr. dwells indignantly in the following §§, cf. *Plat. Menex.* 245 D, where it is called an αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἔργον, and the fragm. of Theopompus quoted in § 134. n. and v. Grote's *H. G. P.* II. c. 75 *ad fin.* and c. 76 *passim*.

In a later speech, *de Pace*, § 16, Isocr. expresses himself less indignantly: (cf. also F. A. Wolf's n. on *Dem. Lept.* p. 475, § 60).

τὴν αὐτονομίαν.] Cf. *de Pace*, 68, ἡθέλησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιήσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας τὰς περὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας. ἀναγεγραμμένην.] § 180. n. καταποντισταί.] 'Pirates.'—In

Greek there are three names for a 'sea-robber.'

(1) ληστής, a comprehensive name, which (in the form ληστήρ) occurs as early as the Homeric period (e.g. *Od.* III. 73), when the occupation of buccaneering implied no disgrace (*Thuc.* I. 5. 1).

(2) καταποντιστής, which occurs first, perhaps, in the present passage. As later instances we have *Panath.* § 226, τοὺς καταποντιστὰς καὶ ληστὰς (cf. *ib.* § 122, καταποντισμοὺς), and *Dem. Aristocr.* § 166.

The corresp. vb. however occurs in *Lysias, Alcib.* A. § 27 (delivered 14 years before).

(3) πειρατής (Lat. *pirata*), which does not occur except in comparatively late Greek (e.g. *Polybius*).

The word καταποντιστής is strictly a product of the early part of the 4th cent. B.C., just as the Anglicised word *buccaneer* (from *boucanier*) and

- χουσι, πελτασταὶ δὲ τὰς πόλεις καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς ἑτέρους περὶ τῆς χώρας πολεμεῖν, ἐντὸς τείχους οἱ πολῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχονται, πλεῖους δὲ πόλεις αἰχμά- 65 λωτοὶ γεγόνασιν ἢ πρὶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμᾶς ποιήσασθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν μεταβολῶν ἀθυμοτέρως διάγουσιν οἱ τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες τῶν ταῖς φυγαῖς ἐξημιωμένων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον δεδίασιν, οἱ δ' αἰεὶ κατιέναι προσδοκῶσιν.
- 117 τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπέχουσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας, ὥσθ' αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τυράννοις εἰσὶ, τὰς δ' ἄρμοσταὶ κατέχουσιν, ἔναι δ' ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασιν, τῶν δ' οἱ βάρβαροι δεσπότηαι b καθεστήκασιν· οὐς ἡμεῖς διαβῆναι τολμήσαντας εἰς τὴν Εὐ-
- 118 ρώπην καὶ μεῖζον ἢ προσήκεν αὐτοῖς φρονήσαντας οὕτω διέ- θεμεν ὥστε μὴ μόνον παύσασθαι στρατείας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ποιου- μένους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν ἀνέχεσθαι πορθουμένην, καὶ διακοσλαῖς καὶ χιλίαις ναυσὶ περιπλέοντας εἰς τοσαυτην

the Gallicised word *flibustier* (from *freebooter*, v. Littré and Wedgwood) make their first appearance in connexion with the West Indian adventurers of the 17th cent. of our era. The very existence of the new term betrays the fact that 'the police of the Aegean' was less strictly kept than in the previous century.

Morus and those who follow him are hardly justified in supposing that Isocr. refers to the Persians and Lacedaemonians, *ut eorum crudelitatem in expeditionibus marinis indicet*: the explanation given above is simpler and better, and is, I find, adopted by Wolf, Cor., Rauch., Schn. and Benseler, the last of whom aptly quotes Xen. *Hell.* v. i. 29, 'Ἀθηναῖοι...πολιορκούμενοι ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν...ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης (in 387 B.C.) and Dem. *Theocr.* § 56.

116. ἐντὸς τείχους κ.τ.λ.] *e.g.* at Mantinea, Phlius, and Thebes, Xen. *Hell.* v. 2.

αἰεὶ κατιέναι προσδοκῶσιν.] Eur. *Phoen.* 396, αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βδσκοῦσι φυγάδας, ὡς λόγος. On κατιέναι v. § 61. n.

117. τῆς ἐλευθερίας κ.τ.λ.] 'The promised liberty, &c.' Cf. § 122.

τυράννοις.] Cf. § 125—6.

ἄρμοσταί.] οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἄρχοντες καὶ φρουραρχοὶ ἐκπεμπόμενοι, παρὰ τὸ ἁρμοῖζειν καὶ καθιστάν τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῶν φυλαττομένας πόλεις. Bekk. *Anecd.* 445. (Bens. *index*.) The name *Harmost* was not confined to governors appointed by Sparta (v. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 8, 'Ἀθηναίων ἄρμοστήν, *Anab.* v. 5. 19, &c.).

ἀνάστατοι.] *e.g.* Mantinea. v. also § 37. n.

οἱ βάρβ. δεσπότηαι καθ.] § 122.

οὐς κ.τ.λ.] This sentence evidently alludes to the relation subsisting between Persia and Greece at different periods. Thus διαβῆναι τολμήσαντας, φρονήσαντας, and the mention of the 1200 ships, belong to the expedition under Xerxes. v. § 93. n. On the other hand, τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν ἀνέχεσθαι πορθουμένην and μακρὸν πλοῖον κ.τ.λ. refer mainly to the actual or supposed results of the double victory of Cimon at the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia (466 B.C.).

118. καὶ διακοσλαῖς κ.τ.λ.] 'And

ταπεινότητα κατεστήσαμεν ὥστε μακρὸν πλοῖον ἐπὶ τάδε
Φασήλιδος μὴ καθέλκειν ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, καὶ τοὺς και-

although they held the sea with 1200 ships, we reduced them to such a depth of humiliation that they launched not a vessel-of-war on this side of Phaselis, but remained in quiet; and awaited the times of crisis, but mistrusted their present power.'

In the present passage and *Areop.* § 80, the fact that Persia ceased from hostilities is described as a simple result of the victories of Athens; elsewhere it is clearly connected with a definite convention between Athens and Persia. This convention is mentioned by Isocr. himself in § 120 and *Panath.* § 59—61, by Dem. *Fals. Leg.* p. 428, § 273; 'Callias, the son of Hipponicus, negotiated that peace which is in the mouths of all men (ὕπὸ πάντων θρυλουμένην), providing that the king should not approach within a day's ride of the sea-coast, nor sail with a vessel of war within the Chelidonian islands [S.W. of Phaselis] and the Canean rocks [in the Euxine]... and no man can say that the commonwealth has made a better peace either before or after.' (From *C.R.K.*); and also by Lycurgus, *Leocr.* § 73, συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο μακρῷ μὲν πλοῖω μὴ πλεῖν ἐντὸς Κυανέων καὶ Φασήλιδος, τοὺς δ' Ἑλλήνας αὐτόνομους εἶναι.

Plutarch (*vit. Cim.* 13) mentions the treaty (τὴν περιβόητον εἰρήνην ἐκείνην), and states that Callisthenes (the writer of a lost *Hist. of Greece* from 387—357 B.C.) οὐ φησι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν βαρβαρον, ἔργῳ δὲ ποιεῖν διὰ φόβον τῆς ἡττῆς ἐκείνης, but that on the other hand a copy of it was to be found in the collection compiled by Craterus (brother of Antigonus Gonatas and writer of a lost diplomatic hist. of Attica; fl. c. 250 B.C.). Theopompus, one of the most distinguished pupils of Isocr., in his *Philippica* (quoted by Harpocr.

lex. s. v. Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν) argues that the convention was fabricated (ἐσκευωρήσθαι), v. § 120, n. 1.

The reality of this treaty of Callias (erroneously called the treaty of Cimon) has been impugned by Mitford, Thirlwall, Manso and esp. by Dahlmann; and defended by Grote, who endeavours to prove that although neither Thuc. nor Hdt. expressly mentions the treaty, it is nevertheless confirmed by several hints in Thuc. (VIII. 5, 6, 56) and Hdt. (VIII. 151), and that, when allowance has been made for the exaggeration of the orators of the 4th cent., a sufficient residuum of historical fact remains to attest to its existence. (v. Grote, *H. G. P.* II. c. 45 = vol. IV. p. 85—89, new ed. and Thirlwall, c. 17, p. 474.)

The hypothesis of Dahlmann is that 'The distinct mention and avement of such a peace as having been formally concluded appears to have first arisen among the schools of the rhetors at Athens, shortly after the peace of Antalkidas, and as an oratorical antithesis to oppose to that peace.'

μακρὸν πλοῖον.] *i. q.* *navis longa*, the long and narrow ship-of-war) (στρογγύλη ναῦς, ὀκκάς, γαῦδος, *navis oneraria*, the rounded and roomy merchant-vessel.

ἐπὶ τάδε.] (ἐπέκεινα, either in temporal, or, as here, in local sense. —Cf. *cis* and *extra* (connected with *hic*) op. to *ul*s and *ultra* (connected with *ille*).

Φασήλιδος.] Phaselis—a maritime town of Lycia, standing on a headland overlooking the Pamphylian gulf.—The light sailing-boat called the *phaselus* is supposed to have been invented there, and was commonly represented on the coins of the place.

καθέλκειν] = *deducere naves*, 'to launch.' Cf. Thuc. II. 93, καθέλκν-

119 ρους περιμένειν ἄλλα μὴ τῇ παρουσίᾳ δυνάμει πιστεύειν.
καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι διὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρετὴν
οὕτως εἶχεν, αἱ τῆς πόλεως συμφοραὶ σαφῶς ἐπέδειξαν· ἅμα
γὰρ ἡμεῖς τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεστερούμεθα καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
ἀρχὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐγίγνετο. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ
γενομένην ἀτυχίαν ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνων καταστάτων ἐνίκησαν
μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι ναυμαχοῦντες, ἥρξαν δὲ τῆς θαλάττης, κατ- d
έσχον δὲ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων, ἀπέβησαν δ' εἰς τὴν
Λακωνικὴν, Κύθηρα δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἶλον, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν

σαντας ἐκ Νισαίας, τοῦ νεωρίου αὐ-
τῶν, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς, and *Anthol.*
X. 15. 3, ἄρτι δὲ δουρατέοισιν ἐπω-
λίσθησε κυλινδρῶσι | ὁλκάς ἐπ' ἡϊώνων
ἐς βυθὸν ἐλκομένη.

119. τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεστερούμεθα...
ἀρχὴ τῶν κακῶν.] 'For no sooner
were we deprived of our dominion
than the beginning of evils came
upon the Greeks.' The ὁμωνυμία,
or play on the two meanings of
ἀρχή may be easily preserved by
rendering thus: 'no sooner were we
deprived of the first place, than the
first disaster came upon the Greeks.'
Bens. has: *Denn sobald man uns
die Herrschaft nahm, fieng auch bei
den Hellenen die Noth zu herr-
schen an.* This particular play of
words is repeated elsewhere in *Phil.*
§ 61, *de Pace*, § 101, *Nicocl.* § 28,
the first or the second of which
passages is quoted *memoriter* by
Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 11, as an instance
of τὰ ἀσρεῖα. A full list of similar
ὁμωνυμῖαι is given in Schneider's
note: e.g. λόγος (*Panath.* § 22), χάρις
(*Epp.* II. 6), αἰτία (*Epp.* VI. 3), and
ποιεῖν (*Evag.* § 36).

τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ...ἀτυχίαν.]
The defeat of the Athenians by
Lysander, off Aegospotami, 405,
B.C. Conon was there vanquished,
owing, it was said, to the treachery
of some of his colleagues (οὐ δὲ
αὐτὸν ἄλλα διὰ τοῖς συνάρχοντας
Phil. § 62, v. *Xen. Hell.* II. 1. 32),
and fled with 12 triremes to Evago-
ras, king of Cyprus. He was after-

wards made commander of the
Persian fleet along with Pharnaba-
zus, and gained a decisive victory
at Cnidus over Pisander, the Spartan
admiral, in August 394 B.C.

ἐτέρων.] Here in its true sense
'the others,' i.e. the Lacedaemonians.
ἐνίκησαν.] i.e. at Cnidus. Cf.
§ 142, and *Xen. Hell.* IV. 3. 10—
14. It will be observed that Isocr.
is careful not to dwell upon the
fact that this victory of Persia was
mainly due to the generalship of an
Athenian, as he elsewhere plainly
intimates (*Evag.* §§ 52—7). Conon,
however, was acting only on a pri-
vate venture, not as a general of
Athens. It was in this private ca-
pacity also, that in the following
year he sailed with Pharnabazus
through the islands of the Aegean
to Melos and thence to Laconia,
where they ravaged the district
round Pherae (in Messenia) and
other places on the sea-board, gain-
ed possession of the island of Cy-
thera, and finally sailed to the
isthmus of Corinth. (*Xen. Hell.* IV.
8. 7, 8. Grote *H. G.* VI. 471, new
ed.)

τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων.] i.e.
Cos, Nisyros, Chios, &c. (*Diod.*
Sic. XIV. 84).

Κύθηρα.] neut. pl. as also in
Xen. Hell. I.c. Ἀθηναίων ἀρμωστήν
ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις κατέλιπε, *Thuc.* IV.
53, τὰ δὲ Κύθηρα νηὸς ἔστω, ἐπί-
κεῖται δὲ τῇ Λακωνικῇ κατὰ Μαλέαν,
and *Hdt.* VII. 235. The form ἡ

- 120 Πελοπόννησον κακῶς ποιούντες περιέπλευσαν. (λδ.) Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις συνίδοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μεταβολῆς, εἰ παραναγνοίῃ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς τ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενομένας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἀναγεγραμμένας. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς φανησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν βασιλείως ὀρίζοντες καὶ τῶν φόρων ἐνίους τάττοντες καὶ κωλύοντες αὐτὸν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆσθαι· νῦν δ'

Κυθήρα appears to belong to later Gk.

κατὰ κράτος εἶλον.] An exaggeration of the fact, as stated by Xen. *Hell. l.c.* φοβηθέντες, μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοῖεν, ἐξέλιπον τὰ τεύχη.

ἄπασαν τὴν Πελοπόννησον κ.τ.λ.] Xenoph. *l.c.* says nothing of this circumnavigation. After the account of Cythera, he says: ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἴσθμον τῆς Κορινθίας καταπλεύσας κ.τ.λ.

120. τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενομένας.] The peace of Callias, v. § 118. n. Isocr. evidently implies the existence of documentary evidence of the terms of that peace. Theopompus (ap. Harpocr.) is still more express, although he declares that the peace was a mere fabrication: Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ κέ τῶν Φιλίππων ἐσκευωρήσθαι λέγει τὰς πρὸς τὸν Βάρβαρον συνθήκας, ὥς οὐ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐστη-λιτεῦσθαι (v. § 180. n.), ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν Ἰωνῶν.

The Ionic characters were not introduced in public documents until the archonship of Euclides, 403 B.C. (v. Franz. *Elementa Epigraphices* Gr. p. 148.) We infer from the statement of Theopompus that if (as is probable) the inscription contained the words Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης, they were spelt thus:

ΙΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΚΑΙ ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΗΣ
[in Ionic letters], instead of ΑΘΕ-
ΝΑΙΟΙΚΑΙ ΑΡΤΑΧΞΕΡΧΞΕΞ
(in Attic letters of the period in question).

ὀρίζοντες.] Cf. Lycurg. *Leocr.* § 73, ὅπου τοῖς βαρβάροις πῆξαντες τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλά-

δος, καὶ τούτους κωλύσαντες ὑπερβαίνειν. The geographical boundaries are variously stated, v. § 118. n. Elsewhere (*Areop.* § 80 and *Panath.* § 59) Isocr. states that the land-force of Persia was **not** allowed to cross the river Halys,—an exaggeration which has been severely criticized by Dahlmann, &c.

τῶν φόρων ἐνίους τάττοντες.] lit. 'Assessing some of their taxes' i.e. 'fixing in several instances the rate of the various tributes to be paid to the king of Persia.' The sense is clear enough, but the historical allusion (if such it be), is difficult to explain. Grote (*H. G.* iv. p. 87. n. new ed.) in speaking of this peace endeavours to shew (from Thuc. viii. 5, 6, 56) 'that the maritime Asiatic cities, belonging to the Athenian Empire, paid no tribute to Susa from the date of the full organization of the Athenian confederacy down to a period after the Athenian defeat in Sicily.' If this is true, it is hard to see why Isocr. expresses himself in such guarded language; he might have said τῶν φόρων ἐνίους ἀπαλλάττοντες (which Schn. even suggests as a probable reading). The expression is meant to be contrasted with προστάτων ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκάστους, and may contain a germ of historical fact.

θαλάττῃ.] This is the reading of Cod. Urb., θαλάσση that of Cod. Ambr. The Cod. Urb. almost always supports the later Attic form θάλαττα; and in one passage alone (*Panath.* § 44) the earlier θάλασσα (where Dind. BS and Bens. read θαλάττης).

- ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ διοικῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ προστάττων
 ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκάστους, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιστάθμους ἐν ταῖς
 121 πόλεσι καθιστάς. πλὴν γὰρ τούτου τί τῶν ἄλλων ὑπό-
 λοιπόν ἐστιν; οὐ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κύριος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν 66
 εἰρήνην ἐπρυτάνευσε, καὶ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων ἐπι-
 στάτης καθέστηκεν; οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνον πλέομεν ὥσπερ πρὸς
 δεσπότην ἀλλήλων κατηγορήσονται; οὐ βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν
 αὐτὸν προσαγορεύομεν ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες; οὐκ
 ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὰς ἐλπί-
 δας ἔχομεν τῆς σωτηρίας, δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἡμᾶς ἡδέως αὐ
 ἀπολέσειεν;
 122 Ὡν ἄξιον ἐνθυμηθευτας ἀγανακτῆσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ- b

νῦν δ' ἐκεῖνος κ.τ.λ.] 'But now, it is *he* that controls the destinies of the Greeks, that dictates the duties of the several states, and all but establishes viceregents in our cities.'

προστάττων.] 'Dictating.' The word is exactly the same as that used by Autocles the Athenian envoy at Sparta, respecting the peace of Antalcidas: βασιλεὺς προσέταπτεν αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 9). Cf. § 176, προστάγματα καὶ κή συνθήκας.

μόνον οὐκ] = ὅσον οὐκ, *tantum non*. ἐπίσταθμοι.] 'Quarter-masters.' οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ σατράπαι οἱ κατέχοντες βασιλεῖ τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις, παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς σταθμοῖς εἶναι σταθμοὶ δὲ αἱ καταγωγαὶ (*sc.* quarters). Bekk. *Anecd.* 253. v. § 162.

121. κύριος κ.τ.λ.] 'Sovereign over'.....'endowed with authority over.'

οὐ...τὴν εἰρήνην κ.τ.λ.] 'Was he not Controller of the peace, has he not been established President of the existing state of affairs?'

ἐπρυτάνευσε...ἐπιστάτης.] Metaphorical terms borrowed from the subdivisions of the 'Council of the 500.' For full details on these subdivisions see either *Dict. Antiq.* art. *Boule*, or the valuable, but often puerile, *Hypothesis* to Dem. *Androt.* It will be sufficient here to

state (1) that the 50 members of the presiding tribe were called *πρυτάνεις*, who, during their 35 days of authority, conducted the whole business of the *βουλή*, and controlled the proceedings of the *ἐκκλησία*: (2) that one was chosen by lot from the 50 *πρυτάνεις* to be chairman for one day in the *βουλή* and *ἐκκλησία*, and that during his day of office he kept the public records and seal.

For the word *πρυτανεύειν* in particular cf. Dem. *de Pace*, § 6, τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διοικούντα (cf. ὁ διοικῶν *supr.*) Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα.

The meaning of *ἐπιστάτης* may perhaps be illustrated by the prominence given to the *King's seal* in Xenophon's account of the communication of the peace to the assembled ambassadors: ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρέβαξος τὰ βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀνεγλῆγνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. But the use of the pf. *καθέστηκε* points to a more general application of the word.

For the double metaphor cf. Plat. *Protag.* p. 338 B, πείθεσθέ μοι ραβδοῦχον καὶ ἐπιστάτην καὶ πρυτάνην ἐλέσθαι ὅς ὑμῶν φυλάξει (cf. § 175, φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης) τὸ μέτριον μέκος τῶν λόγων ἐκατέρου.

βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν κ.τ.λ.] Cf. *Phil.* § 132 and *Err.* II. § 11.

122. ὦν ἄξιον κ.τ.λ.] *i.e.* 'Taking thought of all this, we may well feel

οὔσι, ποθέσαι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, μέμψασθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν ὡς ἐλευθερώσοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπὶ δὲ τελευτῆς οὕτω πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκδότους ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας πόλεως τοὺς Ἴωνας ἀπέστησαν, ἐξ ἧς ἀπήκησαν καὶ δι' ἣν πολλάκις ἐσώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτοὺς ἐξέδωσαν, ὧν ἀκόντων τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς c
 123 οὓς οὐδὲ πώποτ' ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡγανάκτουν, ὅθ' ἡμεῖς νομίμως ἐπάρχειν τινῶν ἤξιοιμεν νῦν δ' εἰς τοιαύτην δουλείαν καθεστῶτων οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν αὐτῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἔφαρκεῖ δασμολογεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς

indignant at our present position; and yearn for our lost supremacy.'

ποθέσαι.] The same form of the aor. of ποθῶ is found in *Aegin.* § 7, but ἐπόθησα is more common in other prose writers; e.g. Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 20, ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνοσίαν. The fut. mid. is always ποθέσομαι (Veitch, *Gk. Verbs*, s.v.). Cf. Eustath. on *Odys.* II. 375, τὸ δὲ ποθέσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποθήσαι δοκεῖ μὲν ποιητικόν, ἔστι δὲ ἀληθῶς Ἀττικόν... λέγεται τοίνυν ἐκατέρως καὶ ποθέσαι καὶ ποθέσαι.

τὸν πόλεμον κ.τ.λ.] sc. the Peloponnesian war. Thuc. IV. 85 (Brasidas *log.*), ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου προείπομεν, Ἀθηναίοις ἐλευθεροῦντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολέμησεν. v. fragm. of Theopompus, quoted by Grote, *H. G.* vi. 358, new ed.

κατέστησαν.] Evidently 2nd aor. and intrans. (not 1st aor. and trans. as Battie and Lange take it). Cf. § 165, καταστάντες εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας.

πολλοὺς ἐκδότους.] sc. τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις... καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομένας καὶ Κύπρον (Xen. *Hell.* v. I. 31), v. § 115. n.

ἀπέστησαν...] 1st aor. trans. 'Detached, severed, the Ionians from Athens.' Alluding to the convention of Antalcidas, as rightly explained by Morus. Bremi and Benseler refer it to the somewhat earlier successes of Sparta, in withdrawing

Chios, Lesbos, Ephesus, Clazomenae, &c. from Athens, as recorded in Thuc. VIII. 14—23; and quote *Panath.* § 103, τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀφίστασαν (*imperf.*) ἐλευθερώσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ σκηνῶν... But the use of the aorist, throughout the whole of this passage, tells in favour of understanding ἀπέστησαν of one definite act, like the peace of Ant., in which all the more or less successful attempts culminated.

ἐξ ἧς ἀπήκησαν...] § 34. n.— δι' ἣν = *propter quam*, δι' ἧς = *per quam*. Isocr. does not say that the Ionians had often owed their preservation to the *direct* agency of Athens, but to her existence, influence, and power. A clear recognition of the difference between δι' ἣν and δι' ἧς makes it unnecessary to take πολλάκις (as Schn. does) in the sense of 'more than once,' i.e. (1) in their original colonisation and (2) in the Persian wars.

123. οἷς οὐκ ἔφαρκεῖ δασμολογεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ.] 'For whom it is not enough to be subject to tribute and to see their citadels in possession of their enemies; but, in addition to these public disasters, they suffer, in their own persons also, greater cruelties than purchased slaves among us.'

οὐκ ἔφαρκε.] Here with a passive: cf. *Aegin.* § 47, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἔφαρκεσεν... στέρεσθαι τῶν παίδων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῇ προσγένειτο.

- ἀκροπόλεις ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατεχομένας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῖς κοιναῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι δεινότερα πάσχουσι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀργυρωνήτων· οὐδείς γὰρ ἡμῶν οὕτως αἰκίζεται τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὥς ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους κολάζουσιν. 124 μέγιστον δὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὅταν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς δουλείας ἀναγκάζονται συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀξιούσιν εἶναι, καὶ τοιούτους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν, ἐν οἷς ἡττηθέντες μὲν παραχρῆμα διαφθαρῆσονται, κατορθώσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον δουλεύουσιν. (λέ.) Ὡν τίνας ἄλλους αἰτίους χρὴ νομίζειν ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες περιορώσι τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν συμμάχους γενομένους οὕτω δεινὰ πάσχοντας, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον

ἀργυρωνήτων] = *mancipia argenti parata* (Liv. xli. 6). Cf. χρυσώνητοι. Greek slaves were either δοριαῶται (*captivi*) or ὠνητοί or οἰκότερες (*vernae*). The first class became rare as civilisation advanced; and the second increased in proportion. These purchased slaves (ἀναμφοισβηγίτης δοῦλοι, Plat. *Politic.* 289 E) would naturally be treated with less consideration than those born in the house. Cf. *Plataic.* § 18, τὰς πόλεις δοριαῶτας γενέσθαι... οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων δουλεύουσι.—On the general subject see Becker's *Charicles*, Exc. to Scene VII.

αἰκίζεται τοὺς οἰκέτας.] On the corporal punishments of slaves at Athens—the brand, the fetter, the clog, the collar, the rod, and the stocks—see Becker's *Char.* p. 369, 3rd ed.

ὥς ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους κολάζουσιν.] Alluding to the Persian punishments of branding, flogging, impaling, mutilation, burying alive, &c. Herodotus has some strange stories about them, e.g. in v. 25 we read that Cambyses slew and flayed Sisamnes (one of the royal judges, who had received a bribe), cut his skin into strips, stretched them across the judgment-seat, and appointed the son of Sisamnes to succeed his father, ἐντεταλμένος οἱ μεμνησθαι ἐν τῷ κατέ-

ζων θρόνῳ δικάζει.—v. also Hdt. iv. 43, vii. 38—9, 114—5, and (for the abhorrence with which the Greeks regarded such outrages) cf. *ib.* ix. 78, 9, τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάρουσι ποιεῖν ἢ περ Ἑλλήσι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέμεν. (v. Grote, *H. G.* i. 482, new ed.). Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 9. 13) tells that, in the satrapy of Cyrus the younger, πολλάκις ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στιβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερουμένων ἀνθρώπων.—Cf. Aesch. *Eumien.* 185—190.

124. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὅταν κ.τ.λ.] The constr. is most easily explained by supplying τοῦτ' ἐστίν, or τότ' ἐστίν, after κακῶν. Cf. §§ 87, 107, 128, 149.—Madv. *Synt.* § 197.

πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀξιούσιν εἶναι.] 'To fight against those who claim to be free,' e.g. against the Cyprians, § 134.

ἐλευθέρους.] For the constr. cf. §§ 3, 71, 95, and 110, τοῖς βουλομένοις γενέσθαι ποιητοῖς. Madv. *Synt.* § 158, 2.

125. ἰσχύν... ῥώμῃ.] For similar variety of expression cf. *Hel.* § 16, τῷ μὲν (Hercules) ἰσχὺν ἔδωκεν, ἡ βία τῶν ἄλλων κρατεῖν δύναται, τῇ δὲ (Helen) κάλλος ἀπένευμεν, δ καὶ τῆς ῥώμης αὐτῆς ἀρχαῶν πέφυκεν,

τῇ τῶν Ελλήνων ῥώμῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ κατασκευαζόμενον; καὶ πρότερον μὲν τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλον, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τὰς βοηθείας ἐποιούντο, νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον 67
126 δὲ μοναρχίας συγκαθιστᾷσι. τὴν μὲν γε Μαντινέων πόλιν εἰρήνης ἤδη γεγεννημένης ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων Καδμείαν κατέλαβον, καὶ νῦν Ὀλυνθίους καὶ Φλιασίους πολιορκοῦσιν, Ἀμύντα δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ

τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλον.] Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *de malignit. Herodoti*, p. 859 c, cap. 21 (quoted by Bens. &c.), πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις οὔτε φιλότιμον οὔτως οὔτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν ὥς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων γενομένην. Then follows a list of instances. They expelled the Cypselidae from Corinth and Ambracia, Lygdamis from Naxos, the Pisistratidae from Athens, Aeschines from Sicyon, Symmachus from Thasos, Aristogenes from Miletus, &c.

πολιτείας.] (μοναρχίας.) The same contrast is found in *Ephr.* IV. 6 and VI. 11. In Dem. *Ol.* I. § 5 we have πολιτεία (τυραννίς, and in Dem. *Phil.* I. § 48, II. § 21, πολιτεία=δημοκρατία.

Cf. esp. Aristot. *Pol.* v. 6 (quoted by Mr Heslop, Dem. *Ol.* I. c.), τὰς ἀποκλινοῦσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ πλήθος καλοῦσι πολιτείας.

Harpocr. *Lex.* πολιτεία ἰδίως εἰσθασι τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ χρῆσθαι οἱ ῥήτορες, ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας, ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτης τε ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς.

126. Μαντινέων πόλιν...ἀνάστατον.] In 383 B.C. Mantinea was blockaded by Agesipolis. On surrender, the city was dismantled and the inhabitants redistributed into its 4 (or 5) constituent villages. *de Pace*, § 100, Μαντινέας δὲ δύψισαν, Φλιασίους δ' ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 7, διωκίσθη ἡ Μαντινεία τετραχῇ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾠκουν. Ephorus (one of the pupils of Isocr., the writer of a Hist. in 30 books, from the return of the Heraclidae to the siege of

Perinthus, 341 B.C.) states that Mantinea was broken up into 5 villages, *fragm.* 138, ed. Müller.—On the historical events mentioned in this section, see Grote, *H. G.* Part II. c. 76, or Thirlwall, *H. G.* c. 37.

Καδμείαν κατέλαβον.] In the summer of 382 B.C. Phoebeidas seized the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes (Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 25—30). In the winter of 379 B.C. (shortly after the Phliasian war) the Cadmea was recovered by the Theban exiles (Xen. *I. c.* 4. 1—9).

Ὀλυνθίους...πολιορκοῦσιν.] In 382 B.C. Sparta entered the first campaign of the war against Olynthus. The war was not finished till both Teleutias, brother of Agesilaus, and Agesipolis, king of Sparta, had fallen: at length, in 379 B.C., the town was reduced to submission by Polybiades, and the Olynthian confederation extinguished (Xen. *I. c.* 2. 11—27, 3. 18—26).

Φλιασίους πολιορκοῦσιν.] In 380 B.C. the siege of Phlius (situated between Sicyon and Argos) was begun by Agesilaus, while Agesipolis, the other king of Sparta, was engaged before Olynthus. In 379 B.C. the town surrendered after a siege of twenty months, almost coincidentally with the surrender of Olynthus (Xen. *I. c.* 2. 8, and 3. 10—25).

Ἀμύντα...συνπράττουσιν.] Amyntas II., father of the famous Philip of Macedon. In 383 B.C., the year immediately preceding the birth of Philip, the future conqueror of

- καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ καὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῷ
 τῆς Ἀσίας κρατοῦντι συμπράττουσιν, ὅπως ὡς μεγίστην
 127 ἀρχὴν ἔξουσιν. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον τοὺς προεστώτας
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἓνα μὲν ἄνδρα τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων καθι-
 στάναι δεσπότην, ὃν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξευρεῖν ῥάδιόν
 ἐστὶ, τὰς δὲ μεγίστας τῶν πόλεων μὴδ' αὐτὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι
 κυρίας, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζειν δουλεύειν ἢ ταῖς μεγίσταις
 128 συμφοραῖς περιβάλλειν; ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅταν τις
 ἴδῃ τοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ἀξιοῦντας ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Ἕλλη- c
 νας καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν στρατευομένους, πρὸς δὲ

Olynthus (in 347), Amyntas sent envoys to Sparta to ask for aid against the Olynthians, who had refused to restore to him certain cities of Macedonia and Chalcidice, which had passed over to their confederacy. His request (coupled with that of the Acanthians) was answered by the siege of Olynthus (*Archid.* § 46, Xen. *l.c.* 2. 12, 13, 38; 3. 9, and Diodor. XIV. 92, xv. 19).

Cf. the *Philippus* of Isocr., § 106, ὁ πατήρ σου πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ταύτας (Argos, Thebes, Lacedaemon, Athens), αἷς σοι παρανώ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, πρὸς ἀπάσας οἰκίως εἶχεν.

Διονυσίῳ συμπράττουσιν.] Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, 405—367 B.C. v. *Phil.* § 65. We have no mention in extant histories of definite co-operation between Sparta and Dionysius the Elder, at the time of the publication of this speech (380 B.C.). In 404 B.C. a Spartan envoy, named Aristus, aided him in establishing his dominion, and in 396 B.C. a Spartan captain, Pharacidas, declared, at a public meeting in Syracuse, that he had been sent to aid the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians. Again, at a later period (374 B.C.), Timotheus, the Athenian general, captured a fleet of 9 triremes, ἃς Διονύσιος ἦν ἀπεσταλκὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν. (Diodor. XIV.

10, 70 and xv. 47.)

These facts are enough to establish a presumption that in the year 380 some unrecorded event may have given additional force to the allusion in the text, or else the allusion may be merely general; cf. *de Pace*, § 99.—In any case it may be interesting to notice (with Grote, *H. G.* Pt. II. c. 82) the coincidence between the dates of the establishing of the supremacy of Sparta and the despotism of Dionysius: 'the new position and policy wherein Sparta now became involved, imparted to her a sympathy with Dionysius such as in earlier times she probably would not have felt' (Vol. VII. p. 404, new ed.). On the sympathy between Dionys. II. and Sparta v. *Archid.* § 63.

τῷ βαρβάρῳ κ.τ.λ.] Alluding to peace of Antalcidas, § 115. n.

ἔξουσιν.] sc. Amyntas, Dionysius, and Artaxerxes Mnemon.

127. ἄνδρα...ἀνθρώπων.] 'man'... 'human beings.' 'mann...menschen.' Bens. *transl.*

128. ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅταν...] Cf. § 176, *Archid.* § 56, ὃ δὲ πάντων σχετιώτατον, εἰ κ.τ.λ., *Callim.* § 18, Plat. *Apol.* 18 c, ὃ δὲ πάντων [sc. ἐστίν] ἀλογώτατον [sc. ἐστὶ τοῦτο], ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ὄνματα οὐδὲν τε αὐτῶν εἶδέναι. (Riddell's *Digest of Plat. Idioms*, § 247) v. § 124. n.—*Madv. Synt.* § 197.

τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον συμμαχίαν πεποιτημένους.

- 129 (λσ'.) Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με δυσκόλως ἔχειν, ὅτι τραχύτερον τούτων ἐμνήσθην, προειπὼν, ὡς περὶ διαλλαγῶν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους· οὐ γὰρ ἵνα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλω τὴν πόλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων οὕτως εἴρηκα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους παύσω, καθ' ὅσον ὁ λόγος
- 130 δύναται, τοιαύτην ἔχοντας τὴν γνώμην. ἔστι δ' οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἀποτρέπειν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, οὐδ' ἐτέρων πράξεων δ πείθειν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἣν μὴ τις ἐρρωμένως ἐπιτιμήσῃ τοῖς παροῦσιν· χρηρὲς δὲ κατηγορεῖν μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοιαῦτα λέγοντας, νουθετεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ λοιδοροῦντας. τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγον οὐχ ὁμοίως ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ,
- 131 μὴ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας λεγόμενον. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχομεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμᾶν, ὅτι τῇ μὲν αὐτῶν πόλει τοὺς ὁμόρους εἰλωτεύειν ἀναγκάζουσι, τῷ δὲ κοινῷ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον κατασκευάζουσιν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλυσασμένοις ἅπαντας τοὺς βαρβάρους περιό-

§§ 129—132. *The harsh terms, which I have applied to the Lacedaemonians, are prompted by a spirit of friendly admonition. Their present attitude calls for vigorous rebuke; they are oppressing their neighbours and exacting tribute from the islands of the Aegean, instead of subduing the Barbarians and winning the broad territories of Asia.*

προειπὼν κ.τ.λ.] In §§ 15—19.

129. *δυσκόλως ἔχειν.* 'To be fretful, petulant, ill-tempered.' v. Aristot. *Éth.* II. 7. 13, ὁ... ἐν πᾶσι ἀηδὴς δύσερπς τις καὶ δύσκολος, and *ib.* IV. 6. 2. Cf. further (as a 'study' in synonyms) *ad Dem.* § 31, δύσερπς... δύσάρεστος and *Panath.* § 8, τὸ γῆρας ἐστὶ δύσάρεστον καὶ μικρόλογον καὶ μεμψιμοῖρον.

130. *ἐρρωμένως.* These adverbs formed from participles (esp. pf. pass.) are common in Isocr.; e.g. *de Perm.* § 144, τεταγμένως, *ib.* § 245, τεταραγμένως, *ib.* § 305, καταβεβλημέ-

ως, *de Pace*, § 62, ἀποκεκαλυμμένως, *ib.* § 96, πεφυλαγμένως, *Panath.* § 218, οὐκ ἀπαιδεύτως ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἔχόντως, &c.

κατηγορεῖν(νουθετεῖν). 'To accuse' ('to admonish.' For a similar distinction cf. Thuc. I. 69, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἔχθρα πλέον ἢ αἰτία νομίσῃ τάδε λέγεσθαι· αἰτία (expostulation) μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἀμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων.—For the sense and the phraseology of the whole context v. *de Pace*, § 71—2.

131. *εἰλωτεύειν.* 'to be Helots' (metaphorically), i.e. 'to live in serfdom like that of the Helots.' For a similar use of the word cf. *Épist.* III. 5 (to Philip), ἡγοῦ τόθ' ἔξω ἀνυπερβλητὸν δόξαν, ὅταν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀναγκάσῃς εἰλωτεύειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

Harpocr. *εἰλωτεύειν* δουλεύειν. Ἰσοκράτης ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ. Cf. *μετοικεύειν*, § 105. n., § 111. n.

περιοίκους.] On the *περιοικοί* (the

- 132 *κους ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταστήσαι. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς φύσει καὶ μὴ διὰ τύχην μέγα φρονοῦντας τοιοῦτοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πολλὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νησιώτας δασμολογεῖν, οὓς 68*
*ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐλεεῖν, ὁρῶντας οὗτους μὲν διὰ σπανιότητα τῆς γῆς ὅρη γεωργεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους, τοὺς δ' ἡπειρώτας δι' ἀφθονίαν τῆς χώρας τὴν μὲν πλείστην αὐτῆς ἀργὸν περι-
 ορῶντας, ἐξ ἧς δὲ καρποῦνται τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον κεκτημέ-
 νους.*
- 133 (λζ'). Ἡγοῦμαι δ' εἴ τινας ἄλλοθεν ἐπελθόντες θεαταὶ γένοιοντο τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων, πολλὴν ἂν αὐτοὺς καταγνῶναι μανίαν ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν, οὔτινες οὕτω περὶ *b*
μικρῶν κινδυνεύομεν, ἐξὸν ἀδεῶς πολλὰ κεκτηθῆσαι, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν χώραν διαφθείρομεν, ἀμελήσαντες τὴν
- 134 Ἀσίαν καρποῦσθαι. καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐδὲν προὔργιαίτερον ἐστὶν ἢ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὧν μηδέποτε παυσόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολεμοῦντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον δέομεν συγκρούειν *τι*
τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἢ ποιεῖν στασιάζειν, ὥστε καὶ τας

provincials or free inhabitants of the 100 Laconian townships, inferior to the Spartans but superior to the Helots) see *Dict. Antig.*, Thirlwall's *H. G.* I. 307 sqq., or Grote, *H. G.* Pt. II. c. 6 = Vol. II. 132 sqq. (where the statement of Isocr. *Panath.* §§ 177—181 on their origin is combated).

132. *νησιώτας.*] The inhabitants of the Cyclades.

ὅρη γεωργεῖν.] de Pace, § 117, *Μεγαρεῖς... γῆν μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ... πέτρας δὲ γεωργοῦντες.*

ἡπειρώτας.] 'The inhabitants of the continent,' the subjects of Persia. Harpocr. *Ἠπειρον*· *συνηθές ἐστι τῷ Ἰσοκράτει, τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν γῆν οὕτω καλεῖν.* §§ 163, 174, 187, *Phil.* § 112, *Archid.* § 73, and Aesch. *Pers.* 42, *ἡπειρογενὲς ἔθνος.*

πλείστην αὐτῆς.] § 34. n.

§§ 133—159. *While the Greeks are spending their strength on trifles, the king of Persia is aggrandising himself at their expense.* 138—143.

His real weakness illustrated especially with regard to the revolt of Egypt, the war with Evagoras, and the battle of Cnidus; and also proved (144) by the successful raids of Spartan commanders, and lastly (145—149) by the ignominious battle of Cunaxa. 150—151. *The weakness of the Barbarians results from the cowardice, luxury, insolence, and servility fostered by their political institutions.* 152—3. *The character of the so-called Satraps.* 154. *The cases of Themistocles and Conon.* 155—156. *The enduring feud between the Barbarians and the Greeks in general; illustrated (157—9) by special reference to the Athenians.*

133. *καταγνῶναι μανίαν ἀμφοτέρων.*] v. § 157. n. and Madv. *Synt.* § 59 a.

134. *τῷ μὲν.*] sc. *τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῖ.* τῷ refers to the idea of the king involved in the mention of his kingdom. § 110, *ἐκείνοισ.* n.

ἐξ ὧν μηδέποτε.] § 89, *ὁ μὴ... ἐστίν.* Madv. *Synt.* § 204 a.

διὰ τύχην αὐτῷ γεγεννημένης ταραχὰς συνδιαλύειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν, οὔτινες καὶ τοῖν στρατοπέδοις τοῖν περὶ Κύπρον ἐὼμεν αὐτὸν τῷ μὲν χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ πολιορκεῖν, ἀμφοτέροις
135 αὐτοῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄντων. οἳ τε γὰρ ἀφεστῶτες πρὸς

τοῖν στρατοπέδοις τοῖν περὶ Κύπρον...] Allusion to the Cyprian war between Artaxerxes Mnemon and Evagoras. It lasted 10 years (*Evag.* § 64, Εὐαγόρα πολεμήσας ἔτη δέκα, τῶν αὐτῶν κύριον αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν, ὥνπερ ἦν καὶ πρὶν εἰς πόλεμον εἰσελθεῖν). The first operations appear to have taken place in 390 B.C., when an Athenian fleet was sent to the assistance of Evagoras (*Xen. Hell.* iv. 8. 24); in 388 Chabrias sailed to Cyprus with the same object (*ib.* v. 1. 10); in 387 Cyprus was abandoned to Persia by the peace of Antalcidas; in 385 a great naval engagement occurred, in which Evag. was defeated, and, after a vigorous resistance on the part of the king of Salamis, the war was concluded, according to Grote, in 380 or 379 (soon after the publication of the *Paneg.*) on the terms that Evag. should remain in full possession of Salamis, and pay a fixed tribute to Persia.

The dates of the transactions of this war have been the subject of some dispute. Diodorus (fl. 30 B.C.), who makes the war last from 394—385 B.C., contradicts himself in several points, but appears to be right in assigning the naval engagement to the year 385 B.C.—Fynes-Clinton (*Fasti Hell.* Appendix on the Cyprian War) takes 385—376 as the dates, owing mainly to a conclusion drawn from *Paneg.* § 141 (vid. προδεδυστύχην. n.). (v. Grote, Pt. II. c. 76).

The lost histories of Callisthenes would doubtless have thrown the fullest light upon the events of this war. It so happens however that an abstract of an account of it, by Theopompus, was made by Photius (the learned patriarch of Constantinople in cent. 9 A.D.), *Bibl. cod.* 176,

p. 120 Bekker. This abstract proves that the war was begun before the peace of Antalcidas, was not vigorously waged till after that peace, and was apparently not concluded until the accession of Nectanebis I. to the throne of Egypt,—an event which cannot be fixed with certainty. I transcribe the passage at length, as it is often cited in these notes:

Theopomp. *fragm.* 111 ed. Müller (part of a summary of the twelfth book of his *Philippica*), "Ὅπως τε ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐαγόρα συνεπέσθη πολεμήσαι, στρατηγὸν ἐπιστήσας Αὐτοφραδάτην τὸν Ἀνδίας σατράπην (v. § 152. n.), ναύαρχον δὲ Ἐκατόμων (cf. § 162). Καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἣν αὐτὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐβράβευσεν (§§ 120, 121, 176) ὅπως τε πρὸς Εὐαγόραν ἐπικρατέστερον ἐπολέμει, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχίας (§ 141). Καὶ ὡς Ἀθηναῖον ἢ πόλις ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα συνθήκαις ἐπειράτο ἐμμένειν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑπερόγκα φρονούντες παρέβαινον τὰς συνθήκας. Τίνα τε τρόπον τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου ἔθεντο εἰρήνην (§ 115 sqq.), καὶ ὡς Τιρίβαζος ἐπολέμησεν (§ 135) ὅπως τε Εὐαγόρα ἐπεβούλευσεν ὅπως τε αὐτὸν Εὐαγόρας πρὸς βασιλέα διαβαλὼν, συνέβαλε μετ' Ὀρόντου, καὶ ὡς Νεκτανάβιος παρεληφτός τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλείαν, πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν Εὐαγόρας τίνα τε τρόπον ὁ περὶ Κύπρον αὐτῷ πόλεμος διεκλήθη.

τῷ μὲν.] *sc.* the land force of Tiriabazus and Orontes; and the sea force of Gaos, both of which contained Greek contingents from Ionia.

τὸ δέ.] *sc.* the armament of Evagoras.

135. πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκέως ἔχ.] The earliest link between Attica and Cyprus appears to have been the legendary foundation of Salamis

- ἡμᾶς τ' οἰκέως ἔχουσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόασιν, τῶν τε μετὰ Τειριβάζου στρατευομένων καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸ χρησιμώτατον ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τόπων ἡθροισται, καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπ' Ἰωνίας συμπέπλευκεν, οἷ πολλὸν ἂν ἥδιον κοινῇ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπόρθουν ἢ πρὸς ἀλλή- d
 136 λους ἕνεκα μικρῶν ἐκινδύνεον. ὧν ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν ποιούμεθα πρόνοίαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἀμφισβητοῦμεν, τοσαύτας δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας τὸ μέγεθος δυνάμεις οὕτως εἰκῇ τῷ βαρβάρῳ παραδεδώκαμεν. τοιγαροῦν τὰ μὲν ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μέλλει, τοῖς δ' ἐπιβου-
 137 λεύει, δικαίως ἀπάντων ἡμῶν καταπεφρονηκώς. διαπέ- e
 πρακται γὰρ, ὃ τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων οὐδεὶς πώποτε τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀσίαν διωμολόγηται καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως εἶναι, τὰς τε πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας οὕτω κυρίως παρείληφεν, ὥστε τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν κατασκάπτειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίζειν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γέγονε διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄνοιαν ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν.
 138 (λη.) Καίτοι τινὲς θαυμάζουσι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασι- 69
 λέως πραγμάτων καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι δυσπολέμητον, διεξιόντες, ὥς πολλὰς τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῖς Ἑλλησι πεποίηκεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι μὲν τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας οὐκ ἀποτρέπειν ἀλλ' ἐπισπεύδειν τὴν στρατείαν· εἰ γὰρ ἡμῶν

by Teucer (*Evag.* § 18, &c.). The connexion is exemplified by the visit of Solon (from whom Soli received its name).—Conon, the famous general, and other Athenians, were harboured in Cyprus during the rule of Evagoras (*ib.* §§ 49—53).—The king himself was presented with the citizenship of Athens (*ib.* § 54), and his statue was afterwards set up, with that of Conon, in the Athenian Cerameicus (*ib.* § 57, and *Dem. Lept.* § 70).

Λακεδαιμονίους—ἐνδιδόασιν.] Cf. Theopomp. *fragm.* ad fin. (quoted in § 134. n.)

ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τόπων.] Not Cyprus and Cilicia, but Greece itself (cf. § 168), and the Greek settlements in

Ionian, esp. Phocaea and Cumae (cf. § 124, *Phil.* § 125—6, and *Diod.* xv. 5).

136. τοσαύτας κ.τ.λ.] Cf. § 26. n. τὰ μὲν ἔχει κ.τ.λ.] A scholium on this passage states that Demosthenes in the *Philippics* expresses the same idea in similar words: the passage alluded to is probably *Phil.* 3. § 27, 28. Cf. *Hell.* § 26, τὰς μὲν ἐπόρθουν, τὰς δ' ἡμελλον (*sic omn. codd.* v. § 83. n.), ταῖς δ' ἡπέλουν τῶν πόλεων.

137. ἐν δὲ ταῖς.] ἐν ταῖς δὲ would have been more regular, but ἐν δὲ ταῖς is more rhythmical. This order is common in Isocr. e.g. § 82 *fin.* 151.—*Madv. Synl.* § 188, R. 1.

138. στρατείαν.] v. § 15. n.

ὁμοιοησαντων αὐτὸς ἐν ταραχαῖς ὧν χαλεπὸς ἔσται προσ-
πολεμεῖν, ἣ που σφόδρα χρή δεδιέναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνου,
ὅταν τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων καταστή καὶ διὰ μιᾶς γένηται
γνώμης, ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ νῦν πολεμικῶς
139 ἔχωμεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ συναγορεύουσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγο-
μένοις, οὐδ' ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως γιγνώ-
σκουσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέφαινον αὐτὸν ἅμα τοῖν πολέοιν
ἀμφοτέρωιν πρότερόν ποτε περιγεγενημένον, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς
καὶ νῦν ἐκφοβεῖν ἐπεχείρουν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ γέγονεν,
ἀντιπάλων δ' ὄντων ἡμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων προσθέμενος
τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ πράγματα θάτερ' ἐποίησεν, c

χαλεπὸς προσπολεμεῖν.] 'Difficult to fight against.' *'Schwer zu bekriegen,'* Bens. The German and English idioms are in this case the same as the Gk. In Lat. we should have the supine, *obfrugnatu*. Cf. (with Schn.) Thuc. VII. 51, χαλεπωτέρους εἶναι προσπολεμεῖν, *ib.* 14, χαλεπαὶ αἱ ὑμέτεραι φύσεις ἄρξαι, Dem. *Ol.* II. § 22, φοβερός προσπολεμήσαι, and Plat. *Menex.* 239 B, ὁ χρόνος βραχὺς ἐξῴως διηγῆσασθαι. The *passive* in such cases is rare; cf., however, *de Perm.* § 115 and § 156, ποιήσομεν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λεχθησομένων ἀκούσαι μὲν ὥσως τισὶν ἀηδῇ, ῥηθῆναι δ' οὐκ ἀσύμφορον. Madv. *Synt.* § 150, or Goodwin's *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 93, 2.

ἣ που.] v. *ad Dem.* § 49. n.
καταστή]](ἐν ταραχαῖς ὧν. Plat. *Legg.* VII. 798 A, τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς συναταχθεῖς ὑπὸ νόσων, μόγις ποτὲ κατέστη, Lysias, *Andoc.* § 36, ἐτάραξε μὲν οὗτος τὴν πόλιν, κατεστήσατε δ' ὑμεῖς. The corresponding subst. is *κατάστασις*, Eur. *Rhes.* III, νυκτὸς ἐν καταστάσει ('in the stillness of night'), *Med.* 1197, δρυμάτων κατάστασις ('her staid and quiet eyes'), both of which passages have been, I think, misinterpreted in L. and S.

διὰ μιᾶς γένηται γνώμης.] For this use of *διὰ* cf. Thuc. I. 40. 4, *Κερκυραίοις οὐδὲ δι' ἀνακωχῆς πώποτ'*

ἐγένεσθε, *ib.* 73. 2, δι' ὅχλου ἔσται, &c.

πολεμικῶς.] *'Periit lepor loci ex quo aliena manus polemicōs inseruit.'* Cobet, *var. lect.* p. 292. It is unnecessary to strike out *πολεμικῶς*, as the construction is ὥσπερ νῦν ἔχωμεν-πολεμικῶς.

139. ὥς...] 'Thus,' = οὕτως. In Attic prose writers seldom used except in the phrases *καὶ ὥς*, *μηδ' ὥς*, and (as here) *οὐδ' ὥς*.

For the less common use cf. Thuc. III. 37. 5, ὥς οὖν χρή καὶ ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ., Plat. *Rep.* 530 D, ὥς πρὸς ἀστρονομίαν...ὥς πρὸς ἐναρμόνιον φoρὰν, *Protag.* 326 D, ὥσπερ...ὥς δέ... and *ib.* 338 A, ὥς οὖν ποιήσετε. (Kroschel's n. to *Protag. l.c.*).—As instances in Attic verse we have Eur. *Iph. T.* 603, ἀλλ' ὥς γενέσθω, *El.* 155, and *Bacch.* 1069.

εἰ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'For if they had shewn that on some previous occasion he had been victorious over both the cities at once, they might reasonably have attempted to alarm us on the present occasion; if however (so far from this having happened) it is only because the Lac. and ourselves are at variance, that he was often able, by attaching himself to one of those sides, to render the exploits of that side more brilliant, *this* is no proof of his strength.'

οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο σημεῖον τῆς ἐκείνου ῥώμης. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς πολλάκις μικραὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας τὰς ῥοπὰς ἐποίησαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ Χίων ἔχοιμ' ἂν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὥς ὁποτέρους ἐκείνοι προσθέσθαι βουλευθεῖεν, 140 οὗτοι κατὰ θάλατταν κρείττους ἦσαν. (λθ'.) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τούτων δίκαιόν ἐστι σκοπεῖν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἐξ ὧν μεθ' ἐκατέρων γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ d πεπολέμηκεν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποστάσης Αἰγύπτου τί διαπέπρακται πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν; οὐκ ἐκείνος μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον κατέπεμψε τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους Περσῶν, Ἀβροκόμαν καὶ Τιθραύστην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον,

ἐν γὰρ τοῖς κ.τ.λ.] 'For in such times of crisis, small forces have often had great influence on the balance of power; for even of the Chians I can say this, that to whatever side they chose to attach themselves, that side was superior at sea.'—Strictly speaking *μεγάλας* has here the force of a predicate, v. § 174, τὰς εὐνοίας, n.

μικραὶ δυνάμεις κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Dem. *Ol.* II. § 14, ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις... ἐν μὲν προσθήκης μέρει ἐστὶ τις οὐ μικρά...καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν, οἶμαι, προσ-θῇ κἂν μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ' ὠφελεί.

ῥοπὰς.] A metaphor taken from the turn of the scale, cf. esp. *Soph. El.* 119, μόννη γὰρ ἄγειν οὐκέτι σικῶ | λύπης ἀντήρροπον ἄχθος. ('For I am no longer able by myself to draw up the weight of grief which is in the opposite scale.' Porson's transl.)

Χίων.] After the failure of the Sicilian expedition Chios revolted from Athens and strengthened the sea-force of Sparta (*Thuc.* VIII. 7, 14, 22, 106). After the battle of Cnidus it revolted from Sparta and sent contingents to the navy of Athens (*Diodor.* XIV. 84, 94). Schn.

βουλευθεῖεν...ἦσαν.] *Madv. Synl.* § 133.

κατὰ θάλατταν.] *de Pace*, § 97, Χίων...προθυμώτατα πάντων τῶν συμμάχων τῷ ναυτικῷ συγκινδυνευ-

σάντων.

140. ἀλλὰ γάρ.] *At enim.* The phrase has two uses: (1) when it introduces an objection (as in the present passage), and answers to the Demosthenic *ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία*; (2) when it means, 'but be that as it may,' or 'but the truth is.' As an instance of (1), which is very common, we have *Plat. Rep.* 365 c, d, ἀλλὰ γάρ, φησί τις, οὐ ῥάδιον αἰεὶ λαμβάνειν κακὸν ὄντα followed by ἀλλὰ δὴ θεοῦ οὕτε λαμβάνειν οὐτε βιάσασθαι δυνατόν. As instances of (2), *Plat. Symp.* 180 a, Αἰσχύλος δὲ φλυαρεῖ κ.τ.λ.... ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι κ.τ.λ., *Apol.* 19 c, and other passages quoted by *Kiddell, Digest of Pl. Idioms*, § 147.

ἀποστάσης Αἰγύπτου κ.τ.λ.] The details of this section are not easily illustrated from extant histories. For obvious reasons, they cannot be referred to the revolt of Nectanebis I. in 374 B.C. (*Diodor.* xv. 41 sqq.), although Pharnabazus was employed in repressing that revolt. The expedition of Persia against Egypt either preceded the first preparations for the Cyprian war or was coincident with its earlier years before vigorous operations had been commenced, *i.e.* it lasted either from 392—390 B.C. or from 390—388 B.C. (cf. *Diodor.* xv. 2—4, and v. Grote, *H. G.* VII. p. 12, new ed.). Ἀβροκόμαν...Τιθραύστην...Φαρ-

οὔτοι δὲ τρί' ἔτη μειναντες καὶ πλείω κακὰ παθόντες ἢ ποιήσαντες, τελευτώντες οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας μηκέτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ **141** τῶν ὁμόρων ζητεῖν ἐπάρχειν; μετὰ δὲ ταύτ' ἐπ' Εὐαγόραν στρατεῖσας, ὃς ἄρχει μὲν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐκδοτός ἐστιν, οἰκῶν δὲ νῆσον κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν προδεδυστύχηκεν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς χώρας τρισχιλίους ἔχει μόνον πελταστὰς, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω ταπεινῆς δυνάμεως οὐ δύναται **70** περιγενέσθαι βασιλεὺς πολεμῶν, ἀλλ' ἤδη μὲν ἐξ ἔτη διατέ-

νάβαζον.] Satraps of Syria, Ionia, and the Hellespontine province respectively.

οὔτοι δὲ κ.τ.λ.] 'And these, after remaining for three years and suffering more disasters than they inflicted, at length came off with such disgrace that the rebels are no longer content with their liberty, but are already seeking to extend their sway over their neighbours also.'

On τελευτώντες v. Madv. *Synt.* § 176 C, R.

τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀγαπᾶν.] 'Αγαπᾶν in the sense, 'to be content with,' 'to acquiesce in,' is used either with the acc. as here, or with the partic. as in *Panath.* § 8, οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ζῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς, or with the inf., as in *Callim.* § 50, οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ τῶν ἴσων τυγχάνει τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖ πλεόν ἔχειν ἡμῶν, or, lastly, with *ei* or *ἦν*, e.g. *Aegin.* § 20, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τοῖς κακοῖς ἠγάπησα, *ei*...δυνήθειν, and *Erph.* 1. 6, ἀγαπᾶν, ἦν τὴν χώραν ἔχωσι. (Bens. *Argor.* § 52, ἀγαπᾶν *ei* μηδὲν ἐτι κακὸν πάσχοιεν. n. p. 300.)

141. μιᾶς πόλεως.] sc. the Cyprian Salamis. *Evag.* § 47, χώραν πολλὴν προσεκτίησας, and *ib.* § 61, ὅτε...γὰρ αὐτὸν (sc. *Evag.*) εἶπον (sc. the Persians) εἰρήνην ἄγειν, τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν μόνην εἶχεν' ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, τοιοῦτος ἦν...ὥστε μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησε Κύπρον ἀπασαν κατασχεῖν, Φοινίκην δ' ἐπόρθησε, Τύρον δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἴλε, Κίλικίαν δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστρεψε, κ.τ.λ.

ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐκδοτός.] v. the terms of the peace of Antalcidas, in § 115. n.

οἰκῶν νῆσον κ.τ.λ.] *i.e.* *Evag.* having an insular dominion, needed a land-force and a sea-force as well. The latter had already been defeated, and the former was but feeble (consisting of only 3000 peltasts): his condition was therefore desperate. (*Sauppe*, *Benseler*, *transl.* p. 227 n. and *Rauchenst.* ed. 3.)

προδεδυστύχηκεν.] 'Has already sustained a defeat,' alluding to the great naval action described by *Diodorus* (xv. 2—4), and (perhaps correctly) referred by him to the year of the Archonship of *Mystichides* (*i.e.* 385 B.C.). *προδεδυστύχηκεν* does not necessarily imply that this engagement was the 'first action of the war' (as *Fynes-Clinton*, *F. H. App.* 12, explains it).

ἔξ ἔτη διατέτριφεν.] This note of time is probably to be explained in connection with the words *προδεδυστύχηκεν* and *οὕτω ταπεινῆς δυνάμεως*, and denotes the period between the more vigorous operations of Persia, which resulted in the great naval defeat of *Evag.*, and the date of the publication of the *Pang.* *i.e.* 385—380 B.C. *Fynes-Clinton* uses the words *ἔξ ἔτη διατέτριφεν* to prove that the war could not have actually begun until 385 B.C. *Grote* thinks that 'Isocrates does not make it quite clear from what point he reckons the 6 years.'

τριφεν, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγενημένοις τεκμαί-
 ρεσθαι, πολλὴ πλείων ἐλπίς ἐστὶν ἕτερον ἀποστήναι πρὶν
 142 ἐκείνους ἐκπολιορκηθῆναι· τοιαῦται βραδυτῆτες ἐν ταῖς
 πράξεσι ταῖς βασιλέως ἐνεῖσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ
 Ῥόδον ἔχων μὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχους εὖνους διὰ
 τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν πολιτειῶν, χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς ὑπηρε-
 σίαις ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, στρατηγοῦντος δ' αὐτῷ Κόνωνος, ὃς
 ἦν ἐπιμελέστατος μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν, πιστότατος δὲ τοῖς
 Ἕλλησιν, ἐμπειρότατος δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινδύνων,
 τοιοῦτον λαβὼν συναγωνιστὴν τρία μὲν ἔτη περιεῖδε τὸ
 ναυτικὸν τὸ προκινδυνεῦον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπὸ τριήρων
 ἑκατὸν μόνων πολιορκούμενον, πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ μηνῶν τοὺς
 στρατιώτας τὸν μισθὸν ἀπεστέρησεν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ'
 ἐκείνῳ πολλάκις ἂν διελύθησαν, διὰ δὲ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κίν-
 δυνον καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κόρινθον συστάσαν ^c

εἰ δὲ δεῖ κ.τ.λ.] *ad Dem.* § 34, and *Andoc. de Pace* (delivered 392 B.C.), § 2, *χρὴ γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τεκμηρίους χρῆσθαι τοῖς πρότερον γενομένοις περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι.* *Clement of Alex. Strom.* vi. 747 (quoted by *Coray*), accuses *Andocides* of plagiarism from *Isocrates*! Although this is impossible, it does not follow that the converse is true, as the sentiment is too common-place to belong to one man more than another. *Sophocles* has already said the same thing in *Oed. Tyr.* 915, *ἀνὴρ ἔννους τὰ καὶ τοῖς πάλαι τεκμαίρεται* (*Cor. Isocr.* ii. p. 51).

ἐλπίς ἐστὶν ἀποστήναι.] For the *aor.* after *ἐλπίζω*, *ἐλπίς ἐστὶν*, &c. cf. *Euthym.* § 15, *ἐλπίζω πράξασθαι, ad Dem.* § 24, *ἐλπίζε...γενέσθαι, Paneg.* § 59, *βιάσασθαι προσδοκῆσας*, &c. v. *Madv. Synl.* § 172 a, R. or *Goodwin's Gl. Moods and Tenses*, § 23. 2. n. 2.

βραδυτῆτες.] *Dem. de Cor.* § 246, *τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας ὅκνους ἀγνοίας φιλονεικίας.*—v. p. 50, col. 2. n.

142. τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ Ῥόδον.] The war between Persia and Sparta

that ended in the battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C. *Phil.* § 63, *συστάντος γὰρ αὐτῷ ναυτικοῦ περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ νικῆσας* (sc. *Conon*) *τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας ἡλευθέρωσεν κ.τ.λ.* and *Erag.* §§ 53—6. Also *Xen. Hell.* iv. 3. 6.

τὴν χαλεπότητα κ.τ.λ.] v. §§ 110—114.

Κόνωνος.] Cf. § 135, *πρὸς ἡμᾶς. n.*, *Erph.* viii. 8, *Areop.* §§ 12, 65, *Panath.* § 105, *Dem. Lept.* p. 477, §§ 68—70. [The cod. *Ambr.* alone has *Κόνωνος*, the cod. *Urb.* *Κοίνωνος*, and the rest *Κίμωνος*!]

Isocr. frequently mentions *Conon*; and *Timotheus*, the son of *Conon*, himself a distinguished general, was one of the pupils of *Isocr.* A long parenthetical eulogy of the son is contained in *de Perm.* §§ 107—139. *Photius* preserves a tradition that *Isocr.* attended *Timotheus* on his military expeditions, and received a talent (£243) for writing his despatches.

τρία...ἔτη.] 396—394 B.C.
 τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κόρινθον.] The alliance of Argos, Athens,

- 143 μόλις ναυμαχούντες ἐνίκησαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ βασιλικώτατα καὶ σεμνότετα τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων, καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδέποτε παύονται λέγοντες οἱ βουλούμενοι τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων μεγάλα ποιεῖν. (μ'.) "Ὡστ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ὥς οὐ δικαίως χρώμαι τοῖς παραδείγμασιν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐπὶ μικροῖς διατρίβω τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πράξεων παραλείπων· φεύγων γὰρ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων διήλθον, οὐκ ἀμνημονῶν οὐδ' ἐκείνων, ὅτι Δερκυλίδας μὲν χιλίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας τῆς Αἰολίδος ἐπῆρξε, Δράκων δ' Ἀταρνέα καταλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους πελταστὰς συλλέξας τὸ Μύσιον πεδίου ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε, Θίβρων δ' ὀλίγω

Thebes, and Euboea with Corinth, against Sparta. Corinth was the συνέδριον of the allies. (Xen. *Hell.* IV. 4. 1 and Diodor. XIV. 82.)

μόλις...ἐνίκησαν.] This depreciatory statement is not borne out by Xen. *l.c.* 3. 12, and is only partially supported by Diodor. *l.c.* 83 *ad fin.*

143. περὶ ὧν.] Dionysius Halic. (*Judicium de Isocrate*) tells us that Isocr. avoids *hiatus* as far as possible. His actual words are these. τῶν φωνηέντων τὰς παραλλήλους θέσεις, ὡς λυσούσας τὰς ἀρμονίας τῶν ἤχων καὶ τὴν λεύκη τῶν φθόγων λυμαινόμενας, παραιτεῖται. The word παραιτεῖται (*lit.* 'deprecates') is enough in itself to prepare us for the fact that Isocr. does not *always* avoid *hiatus*.

The present instance is one of those in question: and the cases in which περὶ is found before a vowel in Isocr. are very numerous.

The following list contains most of the admissible collocations:

1. τί ἂν· ὅτι ἂν· τί οὖν· ὅτι οὐδέν· and (§ 45) εἴ τι ἐν.

(2) καὶ οὐ· καὶ εἰρήνης· καὶ ἐξήκοντα, &c. (v. § 96. n.)

(3) Indic. in -αι, *e.g.* βούλομαι οὖν· δέομαι οὖν· (In such cases Bens. prints δ' οὖν instead of the MS reading).

(4) ὁπότεροι ἂν.

II. πολὺ ἂν· πολλοῦ ἂν· III. ὅ

ἄνδρες· ὃ Ἀρχίδαμε· IV. πρὸ, not seldom before α, ε, η, *e.g.* πρὸ αὐτῶν. πρὸ ἐμοῦ· πρὸ ἡμῶν.

In all the above instances, except I. (3), care has been taken to avoid all passages in which Benseler has removed the *hiatus*. The fact that there are many passages in which alteration is impossible raises considerable doubts as to the propriety of altering the MS reading where such alteration is possible.

η seldom forms a *hiatus* which cannot easily be explained by *crasis* or *prodelision*, *e.g.* μή οὐ· ἡ 'γῶ.

ο in the terminations of verbs and in τοῦτο· ἐκείνο· ὑπό· and ἄ as in πολλὰ· ταῦτα· ποιούμεθα and especially ε, may almost always be elided. (v. Bremi's Isocr. *exc.* XI.)

διατρίβω.] § 41, διατριβάς. n.

144. Δερκυλίδας κ.τ.λ.] Successor of Thimbron in 399 B.C. Described by Xen. *Hell.* III. 1, 8 as μάλα μηχανητικός, ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σίσυφος. *id.* 3, 1, λαβὼν ἐν ὁκτῷ ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις. v. Xen. *Hell.* III. IV. *passim.*

Δράκων κ.τ.λ.] 398 B.C. Xen. *l.c.* III. 2, II. Dercylidas captured Atarneus (in Mysia), and appointed Dracon harmost (καταστήσας Δράκοντα Πελληνέα ἐπιμελητήν).

Θίβρων.] 400 B.C. Xen. *l.c.* III. 1, 4.

The name Θίβρων is sometimes spelt Θίμβρων. Cf. ἄβροτος and ἄμ-

- πλείους τούτων διαβιβάσας τὴν Λυδίαν ἅπασαν ἐπόρθησεν,
 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ Κυρείῳ στρατεύματι χρώμενος μικροῦ
 145 δεῖν τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλλου χώρας ἐκράτησεν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν
 στρατιὰν τὴν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως περιπολοῦσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν
 Περσῶν ἀνδρίαν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι φανε-
 ρῶς ἐπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Κύρῳ συναναβάντων οὐδὲν
 βελτίους ὄντες τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας μάχας
 ὅσας ἡττήθησαν ἐῷ, καὶ τίθημι στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ
 βούλεσθαι προθύμως πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν βασιλέως δια-
 146 κινδυνεύειν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Κύρου τελευτήσαντος συνήλθον
 ἅπαντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντες, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς
 οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς ἐπολέμησαν ὥστε μηδένα λόγον ὑπολιπεῖν
 τοῖς εἰθισμένοις τὴν Περσῶν ἀνδρίαν ἐπαινεῖν. λαβόντες
 γὰρ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγ-

βροτος, λαβεῖν, and λαμβάνω, λάβδα and λάμβδα.

[Ἀγησίλαος.] 395 B.C. Xen. *l. c.* III. 4. 20.

[μικροῦ δεῖν.] Madv. *Synt.* § 168 b.

[Ἄλλος.] The river Halys is often mentioned as a geographical boundary; e.g. (*Oracle ap. Diodor.* IX. 41), Κροίσος Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει. (Cf. Strabo, XII. 534, XVII. 840.)

[145. μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.] This is the reading of Codd. Urb. and Ambr. The following is Benseler's canon with regard to the omission or insertion of the article before βασιλεὺς, when the king of Persia is meant: *Βασιλεὺς ab Isocrate est sine articulo scriptum, ubi rex Persarum in universum, non certus certoque nomine appellatus intelligitur, ut eodem jure ibi regnum Persicum scribi possit. Hic est de eo Persarum exercitus sermo, qui ipsum Persicum regem, non solum Persicum regnum tuetur.*

[τῶν Κύρῳ συναναβάντων.] The Ten Thousand Greeks. Their march up-country (ἀνάβασις) began before midsummer, 401 B.C.; the battle of Cunaxa (in which Cyrus himself was slain, although his army was victorious) took place in the autumn of

the same year; and after an admirably conducted retreat, through Armenia, &c., they took shipping at Cotyora, on the Euxine, 8 months after the battle, and finally, in the spring of 399, the remnant of the army of Cyrus was incorporated in the forces of Thimbron.

[τίθημι στασιάζειν κ.τ.λ.] *i. e.* 'I assume that it was a mere party-question, and that they were unwilling to fight it out with spirit against the brother of the great king.'

[τίθημι.] = I suppose, put the case; cf. *de Perm.* § 94, πρὸς οὓς ὅπως βούλεσθε θέτε με διακείσθαι, Dem. *Lept.* § 21, &c. Similarly *pono* in Lat.; e.g. Ter. *Ph.* 4. 3. 23, *verum pone esse victum cum.*

[στασιάζειν.] (a quasi-impf. infin.) v. Goodwin, *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 15. 3.

[τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν βασιλέως.] Xen. *Anab.* init. Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίνονται παῖδες δύο· πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος.

[146. τελευτήσαντος.] Xen. *Anab.* I. 8. 19.

[ἑξακισχιλίους.] The number of hoplites and peltasts reviewed at Cerasus was 8600 (Xen. *l. c.* v. 3. 3),

μένους, ἀλλ' οἱ διὰ φαυλότητας ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν ζῆν, ἀπείρους μὲν τῆς χώρας ὄντας, ἐρήμους δὲ συμμάχων γεγενημένους, προδομένους δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συναναβάντων, ἀπεστερημένους δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μεθ' οὗ συνηκο-
 147 λούθησαν, τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν ἦττους ἦσαν, ὥσθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπορήσας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων ὑποσπόνδους συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησεν, ὡς εἰ τοῦτο παρανο-
 μῆσειε συνταράξων τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴλετο

the number at Heraclea (*ib.* VI. 3. 16) was 8140; at the time which Isocr. is describing the number must have been greater, nevertheless he mentions only 6000. The discrepancy may be explained, I think, by supposing that Isocr. is confounding the remnant of 6000 that served under Seuthes (*ib.* VII. 7. 23) with the original remnant immediately after the battle of Cunaxa.

ἀριστύνδην.] 'According to worth.' For similar adverbs in -δην v. § 39. η. **ἐπιλεγμένους.**] The reading of Cod. Ambr. is *ἐπιλεγμένους*; that of Cod. Urb. *ἐπειλεγμένους*. The latter is called by Veitch (*Gk. Vbs.* s. v. λέγω) the 'more Attic' form, and has better MS authority.

φαυλότητας.] 'Humble condition,' their poverty and debased position. (v. *Phil.* § 120.) Benseler (*trans.* p. 233) condemns the version '*propter nequitiam*' (Battie &c.).

προδομένους ὑπὸ τῶν συναναβάντων.] *i.e.* Betrayed by Ariaeus and his Persian troops. Xen. *Anab.* I. 8. 5, II. 2. 8, 4. 1, 2, and esp. III. 1. 2, *προδεδώκεσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι*.

ἀπεστερημένους κ.τ.λ.] 'Deprived of the general, with whom they had marched,' *i.e.* not Clearchus, but Cyrus.

For the phraseology cf. Plat. *Rep.* 464 A, *μετὰ τούτου... ξυνακολουθεῖν τὰς τε ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας κοινῇ*, Isocr. *Plataici.* § 15, and Dem. *Androt.* p. 608, § 49. Phrynichus (*fl.* 180 A.D.), p. 353, ed. Lobeck,

criticises Lysias for using the construction *τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἀκολουθούντα μετ' αὐτοῦ*, and says that Lysias ought to have used the simple dative *αὐτῷ*. Coray's note on the *dictum* of this late lexicographer is worth quoting: *πότερον οὖν, ὧ φίλα μεираκύλλια, ὅσοι περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πορεύσθε φωνήν, Λυσίαν τε καὶ Ἰσοκράτην ἀμαρτάνειν ὑποληπτέον, ἢ Φρύνιχον; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι Φρύνιχον, εἰ μὴ μαίνομαι γε.*

συνακολουθεῖν μετὰ τινος contains the idea of union repeated thrice over, first in *μετὰ*, secondly in *συν*-, and lastly in the prefix of *ἀκολουθεῖν*. (From *ἀκόλουθος*, a *copulativum* and *κέλευθος*, cf., for the vowel-change, *εἰλήλουθα* and *ἐλεύσμαι*.)

Plato (*Cratylus*, 405 C, D) gives an unusually correct account of the derivation of the word, τὸ ἄλλα σημαίνει πολλαχὸς τὸ ὁμοῦ... τὸν ὁμοκέλευθον καὶ ὁμοκοῖτιν ἀκόλουθον καὶ ἀκοῖτιν ἐκαλέσαμεν, but it was reserved for modern Philology to connect the prefix in *ἀδελφός*, *ἀκοῖτις*, and *ἀκόλουθος*, with the Sanskrit prefix *sa-* in words like *satirtha* (a school-fellow), *sagara* (a brother), &c.

147. **τοὺς ἄρχοντας.**] sc. 'Πρόξενος Βουώτιος, Μένων Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιοί.' (*Anab.* II. 5. 31). οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνέχθησαν ὡς βασιλεῖα καὶ ἀποτυμθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν. (*ib.* 6. 1.)

καὶ μᾶλλον—διαγωνίσασθαι.] In

- περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔξαμαρτεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ
 148 διαγωνίσασθαι. διαμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν συμμεινάντων καὶ καλῶς ἐνεγκόντων τὴν συμφορὰν,
 ἀπιούσιν αὐτοῖς Τισσαφέρην καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας συνέπεμψεν,
 ὑφ' ὧν ἐκείνοι παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλευόμενοι τὴν ὁδὸν ὁμοίως
 διεπορεύθησαν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ προπεμπόμενοι, μάλιστα μὲν
 φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀοίκητον τῆς χώρας, μέγιστον δὲ τῶν ἀγα-
 θῶν νομίζοντες, εἰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς πλείστοις ἐντύχοιεν.
 149 κεφάλαιον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων· ἐκείνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ λείαν
 ἐλθόντες, οὐδὲ κώμην καταλαβόντες ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν
 βασιλέα στρατεύσαντες, ἀσφαλέστερον κατέβησαν τῷ
 περὶ φιλίας ὡς αὐτὸν πρεσβεύοντων. ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσιν
 ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς τόποις σαφῶς ἐπιδεδείχθαι τὴν αὐτῶν μαλα-
 κίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας πολλὰς μάχας
 ἤττηνται, καὶ διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην δίκην ἔδοσαν, οἱ
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν κακῶς ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ' αἰσχροῦς ἐσώθησαν,

a similar summary of the Ἀνάβασις (*Phil.* § 90—93) Isocr. repeats these words almost *verbatim*. The quotation is followed by a curious apology, which concludes with these words: τοῖς μὲν οὖν οἰκείοις τυχὸν ἂν χρῆσαιμην, ἣν σφόδρα κατεπείγῃ καὶ πρέπῃ, τῶν δ' ἄλλοτρίων οὐδὲν ἂν προσδεξαίμην, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ. (v. § 158, n.)
 ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ.] Cf. § 13, ἐξ ὑπογυίου. n.

148. ἐπιβουλῆς.] 'Design.' This is the reading of most of the MSS, the Cod. Urb. alone has ἐπιβολῆς, 'attack.' The sense is greatly in favour of the other MSS. It is not true that Artaxerxes had failed in his attack; thanks to treachery, he had been singularly successful; he had failed in his object, design, ἐπιβολή. The use of ἐπιβολή in almost the same sense as ἐπιβουλή is confined to late authors; Polybius, Plutarch, and Diodorus: e.g. in Diodor. XIII. 47, τοὺς ἐξ ἐπιβολῆς ἀδικήσαντας (τοὺς ἀκονισίας ἔξαμαρτάνοντας. In Thuc. III. 45. 5, τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐκφροντίζων means 'planning the attack.'

Τισσαφέρην κ. τ. λ.] v. Xen. *Anab.* II. 4. 9 (even before the capture of the generals) Τισσαφέρους ἡγουμένου...ἐπορεύοντο.

ὥσπερ ἂν.] sc. διεπορεύθησαν, § 69. n.

τὴν ἀοίκητον τῆς χώρας.] § 34, τὴν πλείστην τῆς χώρας. n.

149. ἐκείνοι γάρ.] § 87, σημείον δὲ...τοὺς μὲν γάρ. n.

ἐπὶ λείαν.] Codd. Urb. and Ambr. ἐπὶ λείαν, Viçt. ἐπὶ λαν, other MSS ἐπιμέλειαν. Wolf and Lange have ἐπὶ μὲν λείαν, and Coray conjectures ἐπὶ Μυσῶν λείαν. The reading adopted in the text forms the nearest approach to that of the two best MSS, and is accepted by BS and Bens.

δοκοῦσιν.] sc. οἱ Πέρσαι.

ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ—ἤττηνται.] §§ 140—144.

διαβάντες—ἔδοσαν.] §§ 85—98, § 117.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ—ἐσώθησαν.] Quoted by Ar. *Rhet.* III. 9 as an instance of ἀντικειμένη λέξις. v. § 35, ἀμφοτέρους—ἐπόρισαν. n.

καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις καταγέλαστοι γεγόνασιν.

- 150 (μά.) Καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀλόγως γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ παντ' 72 εἰκότως ἀποβέβηκεν· οὐ γὰρ οἶδον τε τοὺς οὕτω τρεφομένους καὶ πολιτευομένους οὔτε τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μετέχειν οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τρόπαιον ἰστάναι τῶν πολεμίων. πῶς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐγγενέσθαι δύναται ἂν ἢ στρατηγὸς δεινὸς ἢ στρατιώτης ἀγαθὸς, ὦν τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐστὶν ὄχλος ἄτακτος καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρος, πρὸς μὲν τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλελυμένος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δουλείαν ἄμεινον τῶν b παρ' ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν πεπαιδευμένος, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις 151 δόξαις ὄντες αὐτῶν ὁμαλῶς μὲν οὐδὲ κοινῶς οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς

τελευτῶντες.] 'Lastly, i.e. as a climax.' (§ 140, τελευτῶντες. n.) In the present passage the idea of *time* must be carefully excluded, as the battle of Cunaxa, to which reference is here made, took place *before* the events recorded in §§ 140—144.

ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις κ.τ.λ.] Cf. *Erag.* § 58, and Xen. *Anab.* II. 4, 4, οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἐκόν γε βουλήσεται (sc. βασιλεὺς), ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσούδε ὄντες ἐνικώμεν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγέλαστας ἀπήλθομεν.

Xenophon (who does not mention the name Cunaxa) was informed that the field of battle lay 360 *stadia* (about 42 miles) from Babylon. Plutarch (to whom we owe the name of the battle) states (*vit. Artax.* 8) that Cunaxa was 500 *stadia* (about 58 miles) distant.

καταγέλαστοι γεγ.] lit. 'Have become ridiculous.' Obs. the distinction between ὁ καταγέλαστος (the butt of wit, the laughing-stock) and ὁ γελοῖος (the humorist).

Plat. *Symp.* 189 B, φοβοῦμαι σὺ τι μὴ γελοῖα ἀλλὰ μὴ καταγέλαστα εἶπω. Both the ideas are combined in the Lat. '*ridiculus*,' which is applicable not only to one who is 'witty himself,' but also to one who is 'the cause of wit in others.' When Cicero, in the speech *pro Murena*, was bantering Cato, the

latter made to the bye-standers the double-edged remark, 'Quam ridiculum consulem habemus,' for such must have been the original form of the sentence that appears in Plut. *Cat.* 21, ὡς γελοῖον ὕπατον ἔχομεν.

150. δεινός.] 'Able,' 'skilful,' &c.; the idea of terror (δῆος) is here, as often, entirely lost. In Plat. *Protag.* 341 A, B, we find that Prodicus protested against the use of the word in this secondary meaning.

περὶ τοῦ δεινοῦ Προδικὸς με οὐτοσί νοουθετεῖ ἐκάστοτε, ὅταν ἐπαιῶν ἐγὼ ἢ σὲ ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ λέγω, ὅτι Πρωταγόρας σοφὸς καὶ δεινὸς ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ, ἐρωτᾷ, εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι τὰ γαθὰ δεινὰ καλῶν, τὸ γὰρ δεινὸν, φησί, κακὸν ἐστίν· οὐδεὶς γοῦν λέγει ἐκάστοτε δεινοῦ πλοῦτου οὐδὲ δεινῆς εἰρήνης οὐδὲ δεινῆς ὑγείας, ἀλλὰ δεινῆς νόσου καὶ δεινοῦ πολέμου καὶ δεινῆς περιλίας, ὡς τοῦ δεινοῦ κακοῦ ὄντος.

151. αὐτῶν.] The insertion of this word is not necessary as ὦν has already been used at the beginning of the former clause, but it adds to the perspicuity of the sentence. This addition of the demonstrative or personal pron. is most common when a *different* case to that of the relative pron. is required (v. Madv. *Synt.* § 104 B), but is also found when the two cases are identical, as here. Cf. Weber's n. on Dem. *Aristocr.* § 111, ᾧ ἐλυσινέλει...καὶ...αἰρετώτερο·

οὐδεπώποτ' ἐβίωσαν, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον διάγουσιν εἰς μὲν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντες, τοῖς δὲ δουλεύοντες, ὡς ἂν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα τὰς φύσεις διαφθαρεῖεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα διὰ τοὺς πλούτους τρυφῶντες, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς διὰ τὰς μοναρχίας

ἦν αὐτῷ, 'A *pronomine relativo defecti constructio alterius membri ad demonstrativum. Propria est enim Graecorum indoles liberius loquendi et ad directam orationem transeundi* &c.' This constr. must not be confounded with the Hebraisms of the Septuagint and Gk. Test. e.g. *Joshua* iii. 4, τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύσεθε αὐτῇν, and *Mark* vii. 25, where the demonstrative is repeated in the *same* clause as the rel. (v. Winer's *N. T. Gram.* P. III. § 22, 4); a constr. which has perhaps no examples in Classical Gk. ['*Soph. Phil.* 316, οἷς...αὐτοῖς is not an instance. αὐτοῖς must there mean *ipsis*, in spite of Hermann's objections. v. *ib.* 275.' R. S.]

ὁμαλῶς—ἐβίωσαν.] The negative οὐδεπώποτε influences ὁμαλῶς, and also intensifies the negatives οὐδὲ κοινῶς οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς. Cf. *Dem. Androt.* § 4, οὗτος ἀπλοῦν μὲν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, *Thuc.* vi. 55. 2, στήλη..., ἐν ᾗ Θεσσαλοῦ μὲν οὐδ' ἱπάρχου οὐδεὶς παῖς γέγραπται, *Hdt.* i. 215, σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν, and *ib.* ii. 52, ἐπωνυμίην δ' οὐδὲ ὄνομα ἐποιεύντο οὐδενὶ αὐτέων (quoted by Rauchenst. and Schneider).

ὁμαλῶς.] 'Evenly,' 'equably.' The meaning is exactly explained by the immediate context: εἰς τοὺς μὲν ὑβρίζοντες, τοῖς δὲ δουλεύοντες, and (in § 152) τὰ μὲν ταπεινῶς, τὰ δὲ ὑπερηφάνως ζῶντες. Throughout the passage there is an evident contrast intended between Athenian democracy and Oriental despotism, the equality of rights, enjoyed under the former, and the inequality that resulted from the various gradations of rank in the latter. Under the dominion of Persia, while the majority (τὸ πλεῖστον) were levelled to an abject slavery, the higher classes were at once the victims and the agents of oppression, and had never

experienced the equality, the social feeling, the loyalty of the Athenian citizen.—A confirmation of this view of the meaning of ὁμαλῶς κ.τ.λ. may be found in the *Menexenus* of Plato 238 E (which Isocr. may have actually read during the composition of the *Paneg.*)—Αἰτία δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης ἡ ἐξ Ἰσού γένεσις. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐκ παντοδαπῶν κατεσκευασμένοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσι καὶ ἀνομάλων, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνώμαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, τυραννίδες τε καὶ δολιγρχαί.

The meaning 'contentedly' given to ὁμαλῶς in this passage by Lidd. and Scott is somewhat unsatisfactory.

Benseler refuses to allow οὐδέποτε to influence ὁμαλῶς, and holds that if Isocr. had intended that meaning, he would have written οὐδ' or οὐχ ὁμαλῶς. He takes ὁμαλῶς as a contrast to ὕχλος ἀτακτος and translates thus: *und da die, welche bei ihnen in dem grössten Ansehen stehen, zwar in einer gewissen Gleichmässigkeit, aber nie voll eines gemeinschaftlichen Strebens oder patriotischen Sinnes gelebt haben.* But this sense would almost require ὁμαλῶς μὲν ἀλλ' οὐ κοινῶς κ.τ.λ.

ἐβίωσαν.] This is the *second* aor. of a somewhat rare present βίωω, formed on the model of the ordinary verbs in -μι, with this difference that δίδωμι has ἔδωσαν with a short penult, but βίωω has ἐβίωσαν (cf. ἔγνωσαν ἑάλωσαν) with a long penult. ἐβίω occurs in *Evag.* § 71. The *first* aor. ἐβίωσα is extremely rare. (v. Veitch, *Gk. Verbs*, s. v. βίωω and ζῶω, and Cobet, *nov. lect.* 576).

τὰ μὲν σώματα κ.τ.λ.] In *Phil.* § 124 the βάρβαροι are spoken of as μαλακοὶ καὶ πολέμων ἀπυροὶ καὶ διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς τρυφῆς.

πλούτους.] This pl. is not very common: it occurs however in § 182,

ταπεινὰς καὶ περιδεεῖς ἔχοντες, ἐξεταζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλεῖσι καὶ προκαλινδούμενοι καὶ πάντα τρόπον c
 μικρὸν φρονεῖν μελετώντες, θνητὸν μὲν ἄνδρα προσκυνού-
 152 τες καὶ δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μᾶλλον ἢ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀλιγωροῦντες. τοιγαροῦν οἱ καταβαίνοντες
 αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, οὓς καλοῦσι σατράπας, οὐ καταισχύ-

ad Nicocl. § 5, *de Pace*, § 6, 117, *Panath.* § 196. The blunder which has made the word 'riches' (*richesse*) plural in English enables us to render it adequately in every case.

ἐξεταζόμενοι.] lit. 'being examined,' 'appearing on muster or parade, being drilled and reviewed.' The word is here used to express the stiff formalities of attendance on the King's court. v. Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 1. 6.—For the corresponding subst. *ἐξέτασις*, cf. *Areop.* § 82, τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὗτο κατημελήκαμεν, ὥστ' οὐδ' εἰς ἐξέτασεις ἵναμι τολμῶμεν, ἢν μὴ λαμβάνωμεν ἀργύριον.

In Dobree's *Adversaria* we have this n. 'utcumque intelligas, drilled, trained (to servitude), sed vide an haec transponenda (71 E), καὶ τελευτώντες ἐξεταζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλεῖσι, καταγέλαστοι γεγύνασιν, ut pugnam ad Cynaxam romitam fuisse meram dicat.' and Dobree's transl., whatever may be said of the rest of his n., is, certainly better than the tame rendering 'ante palatium inveniuntur i.e. versantur' given by Morus at the end of a long note on the meaning of ἐξετάζεσθαι.

προκαλινδούμενοι.] [*Προκλινδομαι et προκαλινδομαι sic differunt, ut hoc adulantis sit et adorantis, illud supplicis.*—'*Attici aut κλινδω et κλινδομαι aut κλινδομαι dixisse videntur: sequiores κλινδω et κλινδομαι usurabant.*' Cobet, *nov. lect.* pp. 639, 637.

Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3. 14. On the etiquette observed between different ranks in Persia, v. Hdt. i. 134, ἢν δὲ πολλῶ ἢ οὐτὸς ἀγενέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἑτερον.

πάντα τρόπον—μελετώντες.] Quo-

ted by Ar. *Rhet.* iii. 10 *fin.* as an instance of metaphor: τὸ γὰρ μελετᾶν αὖξεν τι ἐστίν.

προσκυνούντες.] Cf. Nepos, *Conon*, iii. 3, *Necesse est, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem (quod προσκυνεῖν illi vocant).* Schn.

δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες.] In Aesch. *Persae*, 156, the Chorus addresses Atossa: μήτηρ ἢ Ξέρξον γεραυί, χαῖρε, Δαρείου γύναι. Θεοὺ μὲν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφες, and Gorgias (quoted by the author of the treatise περὶ ὕψους, 3. § 2) uses the expr., Ξέρξης δὲ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς.

A fragment of Theopompus (preserved by Athenaeus, *Deipn.* vi. 252, § 60) tells us the following story of the Argive Nicostratus—καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ὅποτε μέλλοι δειπνεῖν, τράπεζαν παρετίθει χωρὶς, ὀνομάζων τῷ δαίμονι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐμπλήσας σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδίων, ἀκούων μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας διατρίβοντας, οἰόμενος δὲ διὰ τῆς θεραπείας ταύτης χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεῖς.

προσαγορεύοντες.] v. § 24, προσεῖπεν. n.

152. **σατράπας.**] *Phil.* § 104, τῶν ἄλλων σατραπῶν. The derivation of the word *σατράπης* has been disputed: Hesychius in his *lex.* s. v. defines the *σατράπαι*, as=ἀρχηγοί, στρατηλάται, and adds Περσικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις. He elsewhere records the form *ζατράπης*, and there are other forms besides. In Gesenius (*Thes.*

Ling. Hebr. s. v. סַטְרָפִיָּה) and in Lidd. and Scott it is stated that the form *ἐξατράπης* is used by the historian Theopompus. This state-

νουσι τὴν ἐκεῖ παιδευσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 διαμένουσι, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀπίστως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς d
 ἐχθροὺς ἀνάνδρως ἔχοντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν ταπεινῶς, τὰ δ' ὑπερ-
 ηφάνως ζῶντες, τῶν μὲν συμμάχων καταφρονοῦντες, τοὺς
 153 δὲ πολεμίους θεραπεύοντες. τὴν μὲν γε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου
 στρατιὰν ὀκτὼ μῆνας ταῖς αὐτῶν δαπάναις διέθρεψαν, τοὺς
 δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύοντας ἑτέρου τοσούτου χρόνου τὸν

ment requires a slight modification : the word 'satrap' occurs once only, as far as I am aware, in the fragments of Theopompus, and that in the summary drawn up by Photius from one of the 280 books read by him on his embassy to Assyria. The passage has been already quoted in § 134. n. One of three MSS of Photius has ἐξατράπην (which is the reading of the old ed. of Stephens), two have σατράπην (which is adopted by Bekker). We cannot therefore be perfectly certain that Photius used the word, much less that he actually found it in Theopompus. It is worth noticing however that the very same MSS that agree in writing σατράπην, also agree elsewhere in an abstract of Arrian (Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 92. p. 71, 25 Bekker) in the reading τῶν δὲ ἀνω ξατραπειῶν. The existence of the form in ξ is also attested by the safer evidence of ancient inscriptions, (1) An inscr. found at Tralles (in Caria, the hereditary Satrapy of the Hecatomnus mentioned in § 162) which has the words

ΑΡΤΑΣΕΣΣΕΩΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝ
 ΤΟΣΕΞΣΑΤΡΑΠΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ
 ΗΔΡΙΕΩΣ *i.e.* in Attic Gk. Ἀρ-
 ταξέρξου βασιλεύοντος, σατραπεύοντος
 (belonging to the years 367, 361 and 355 B.C.) discovered at Mylasa in the same satrapy, which have
 ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΕΥΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ
 ΟΝΤΟΣΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟΥΞΞ
 ΑΙΘΡΑΠΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ. (The pre-
 fixed vowel in ἐξσατραπεύοντος and

ἐξαθραπεύοντος may be also noticed in the Hebrew form which occurs in *Esther* iii. 12, viii. 9, ix. 3 and *Ezra* viii. 36.)

The form in ξ, the evidence for which has now been stated at length, is important, because it gives us the key to the derivation of the word : ξ corresponds to the Sanskrit *kṣhī* (cf. *δεξιός* and *dakshina*, *ἐξὸν* and *kṣhura* &c.); hence *σατράπης* or *ξατράπης* must be *kshatrapa* = *kshatra* (from '*kshī*', 'to govern') + *pa*, 'one who upholds or rather guards the empire.'—The word *kshatrapa* occurs twice in the celebrated Behistun inscription (the record of the exploits of Darius the Great), and *kshatram* is constantly found in the same inscr. in the sense of 'empire.'

(Partly from Stephens' *Thesaurus*, new ed. s.v. Böckh's *Corpus Inscr. Gr.* vol. II. p. 584, n. 2919 and p. 470, n. 2691, and Rawlinson's n. on *Hdt.* i. 192. For the Sanskrit details in this n. I am indebted to Prof. Cowell).

οὐ κατασχύνουσι κ.τ.λ.] *i.e.* Do not disgrace their court-education. For a similarly ironical use, Rauchenst. quotes Dem. *de Cor.* § 261, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προῦ-
 πηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ ('you disgraced not your antecedents by your subsequent life.' C. R. K.).

153. Ἀγησιλάου κ.τ.λ.] Xen. *Hell.* III. 4. 26, Τιθραύστης δίδωσι [*sc.* τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ] τριάκοντα τά-
 λαντα, ὃ δὲ λαβὼν ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρυ-
 βάξου Φρυγίαν. Plut. *Ages.* 10.
 τοὺς...κινδυνεύοντας.] § 142.
 ἑτέρου τοσούτου χρόνου.] 'Twice
 that length of time' or (according to

μισθὸν ἀπεστέρησαν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν Κισθήνην καταλαβοῦσιν
 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα διένειμαν, τοὺς δὲ μεθ' αὐτῶν εἰς Κύπρον
 154 στρατευσαμένους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὕβριζον. ὥς
 δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ
 πολὺ, τίς ἢ τῶν πολεμησάντων αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐδαιμονήσας
 ἀπῆλθεν, ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις γενομένων οὐκ αἰκισθεὶς τὸν
 βίον ἐτελεύτησεν; οὐ Κόνωνα μὲν ὃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας 73
 στρατηγήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέλυσεν, ἐπὶ
 θανάτῳ συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, Θεμιστοκλέα δ' ὃς ὑπὲρ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὺς κατεναυμάχησε, τῶν μεγίστων δωρεῶν

[§ 142] 15 months. The phrase in itself is ambiguous, and may either mean (1) 'for another space of time equally long' or (2) as here, 'for twice the space of time.' For *ἔτερος τοσοῦτος* in the first sense, cf. Hdt. II. 149, where we are told of two pyramids standing in the midst of lake Moeris, each, as the context tells us, 100 ὀργυῖαι in entire height, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυῖαι ἑκατέρη, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδμηταὶ ἔτερον τοσοῦτο.—There is the same ambiguity in Latin. *Alterum tantum* and *maius altero tanto* may be used in the same sense. Cic. *Orat.* 56, § 188, *Omnis (sc. numerus) talis est ut unus sit e tribus. Pes enim, qui adhibetur ad numeros, partitur in tria, ut necesse sit, partem pedis aut aequalem alteri parti, aut altero tanto aut sesqui esse maiorem. Inde fit aequalis dactylus, duplex iambus, sesquipleus paeon*: (the long syllable of an iambus is *altero tanto* major, twice as long as the short syllable), and Liv. x. 46, *militibus ex praeda centenos binos asses, et alterum tantum centurionibus atque equitibus divisit*.

Κισθήνην.] Κισθήνην Ἰσοκράτης Πανηγυρικῶ. ἄρος τῆς Θράκης. Κρατῖνος 'κάνθεν δ' ἐπὶ τέρματα γῆς ἤξειε καὶ Κισθήνης ἄρος ὄψει.' Harpocration. (Cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 793, Dindf., Γοργόνεια πεδία Κισθήνης, with Paley's n.) This explanation does not help us much; as the Gorgon-haunted boundary of the world

(which the lexicographer apparently identifies with an unknown mountain of Thrace) is little likely to have been captured by any of the Spartan commanders. Benseler maintains that the place in question may have been in *Bithynian* Thrace, where Dercylidas passed the winter of 399 B.C. (ἀσφαλῶς φέρων καὶ ἄγων τὴν Βιθυνίδα, Xen. *Hell.* III. 2), but it appears equally reasonable to identify it with a town in Aeolis, on the sea-coast of Mysia, north of Atarneus. In Strabo's time the town was deserted (XIII. p. 606), and this fact may account for Harpocration's apparent ignorance of its existence. The capture of Cisthere possibly formed one of the unrecorded exploits of Agesilaus in 395 B.C.

154. ἐπὶ θανάτῳ συλλαβεῖν.] Isocr. only says that Conon was captured with a view to being put to death: Cornel. Nepos, *Con.* 5, 3, tells us that Tiribazus treacherously put Conon into chains, *in quibus aliquamdiu fuit. Inde nonnulli eum ad regem abductum ibique eum perisus scriptum reliquerunt. Contra Dinon Historicus, cui nos plurimum de Persicis rebus credimus*, [B.C. 360 B.C.] *effugisse scribit*.—Diodor. xv. 43, ὑποπτεύσας δ' Ἰφικράτης μὴ συλλαφθῆναι καὶ τιμωρίας τύχῃ καθάπερ Κόνων ἔπαθεν δ' Ἀθηναῖος.—For the phraseology cf. Hdt. III. i 19, συλλαβῶν δὲ σφέας ἔδωκε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

κατεναυμάχησε.] *sc.* at Salamis,

155 ἡξίωσαν; καιτοι πῶς χρή τὴν τούτων φιλίαν ἀγαπᾶν, οὐ τοὺς μὲν εὐεργετας τιμωροῦνται, τοὺς δὲ κακῶς ποιούντας οὕτως ἐπιφανῶς κολακεύουσιν; περὶ τίνας δ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξημαρτήκασιν; ποῖον δὲ χρόνον διαλελοίπασιν ἐπιβουλευόντες ἡ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν; τί δ' οὐκ ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, οὐ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδη καὶ τοὺς νεῶς συλᾶν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ
156 πολέμῳ καὶ κατακάειν ἐτόλμησαν; διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας

cf. Hdt. viii. 75 sqq. and § 98, ταύτης...αἰτίαν, π.

μεγ. δωρεῶν ἡξίωσαν.] sc. the revenues of Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus, Thuc. i. 138.

155. τοὺς μὲν εὐεργέτας—κολακεύουσιν.] Cf. *Panath.* § 160.

τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδη καὶ τοὺς νεῶς.] 'The images and the temples of the Gods.' ἔδος in Gk. prose means either (1) 'a statue' or (2) 'a temple.' Timaei *lex.* ἔδος τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἱδρύται. As an instance of (1) we have Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 5, and Lycurg. *Leocr.* § 1, τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰ ἔδη καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὰς...θυσίας, of (2) Plat. *Phaedo*, iii. 1, καὶ δὴ καὶ θεῶν ἔδη τε καὶ ἱερὰ αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἐν οἷς τῷ ὄντι οἰκητὰς θεοὺς εἶναι. In the present passage (1) is the right meaning. Cf. *de Perm.* § 2, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἔδος where the context (quoted at length on p. 49) shews that *simulacrum* is meant. There is no great objection to (2), except the fact that this meaning is not found elsewhere in Isocr. and the sense gained thereby is slightly tautological and not very forcible. (v. however p. 107, col. 2. n.) The passing suggestion thrown out by Morus, '*hanc periphrasin templorum τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδη, ad indignationem augendam facere,*' would be pertinent if the words in question came *after* τοὺς νεῶς.

For the historical fact, cf. Hdt. viii. 53 (on the capture of Athens), τὸ ἰὼν συλησάντες, ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἀκρόπολιν, and *ib.* 144, πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν (sc. μηδίσαντας κατα-

δουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα), μὴδ' ἦν ἐθέλωμεν' πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα, τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα. Aesch. *Persae*, 809—812, οὐ θεῶν βρέτη ἡδύντο συλᾶν, οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεῶς, κ.τ.λ. Also *Paneg.* § 96.

156. Ἴωνας κ.τ.λ.] The historical allusion to the Ionians presents some difficulty. After the capture of Miletus (494 B.C.) the Persians burnt the great temple of Apollo in Branchidae, Hdt. vi. 19, ἰὼν τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι, ὃ νηὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, συληθέντα ἐνεπύμπρατο. Similarly in the case of Naxos (*ib.* 96).—But neither Herodotus nor Diodorus nor indeed any one of the historians mentions the imprecation of which Isocr. speaks. However, in the speech of Lycurgus in *Leocr.* §§ 80, 81 we read of an oath taken by the collective allies (Οἱ Ἕλληνες) before the battle of Plataea. The actual words of the oath are recited as follows: Οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλεόνους τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐδὲ καταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ζῶντας οὔτε ἀποθανόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων ἀπαντας θάψω καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους τῶν μὲν μαχessaμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων οὐδεμίαν ἀνάστατον ποιήσω, τὰς δὲ τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου προελομένας ἀπάσας δεκατεύσω καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω παντάπασι, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις ἐάσω καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων

ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων ἱερῶν ἐπηρεασαντ' εἴ τινες κινήσειαν ἢ πάλιν εἰς τὰρχαῖα καταστήσῃαι βουληθεῖν, οὐκ ἀποροῦντες, πόθεν ἐπισκευάσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἔν' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἢ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας, καὶ μηδεὶς πιστεῦῃ τοῖς τοιαύτ' εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξαμαρτεῖν τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττωνται καὶ δεδίδωσιν,

ἀσεβείας. This formula is quoted with a few trifling variations by Diodorus (IX. 29), who states further that the scene of the solemn rehearsal was the isthmus of Corinth. Immediately before quoting the oath, Lycurgus tells us that the oath was framed on the model of the customary Athenian oath (οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν εὐρόντες ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσιστόμενον ὅρκον).

It will be observed that part of the formula above quoted presents a remarkable parallel to the passage before us. The questions arise: (1) whether the Ionians really uttered the formal imprecation mentioned in the text, (2) whether the Athenians ever had any customary oath of this nature, (3) whether the collective allies took that oath. While we may answer (1) by a doubtful affirmative, we are almost compelled to answer (2) and (3) in the negative. The oath is probably a mere subsequent development of the short and sensible resolution mentioned in Hdt. VII. 132; and it is a relief to know that Theopompus the pupil of Isocrates, whom we have already (§ 120 n.) quoted as a denouncer of fabrication, asserts that the oath is an Athenian fiction. *Fragm.* 167 (ed. Müller), 'Ἑλληνικός ὅρκος καταψεύδεται, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι φασιν ὁμόσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς.

Pausanias X. (*Phocica*) 35. 2, simply tells us that the Greeks resolved not to set up the temples burnt by the barbarians, but to allow them to remain for all time as τοῦ ἔχθρους ὑπομνήματα. He then goes on to say that this was the reason that in

his own time the temples in Halicarnassus, the temple of Hera on the road from Athens to Phalerum, and the temple of Demeter at Phalerum remained half-burnt.

τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων ἱερῶν.] Lange actually translates these words as *Gen. absol.* This would, of course, require ἐμπρησθέντων τῶν ἱερῶν.

We may explain the construction either (1) as *gen.* after ἐπηρεάσαντο 'swore by the temples' (L. and S.), or (2) as a *partitive gen.* ('any of, or any part of, the burnt temples'), or (3) as *gen.* after κινεῖν, in a sense cognate to that of ψάτειν, θογγάνειν. (2) and (3), which are nearly identical, are preferable to (1). For a similar use of κινεῖν *c. gen.* cf. Thuc. I. 143. 1. Plato, *Rep.* IV. *ad fin.*, οὐτε γὰρ ἂν πλείους οὐτε εἰς ἐγγενέμενος κινήσειεν ἂν τῶν ἀξίων λόγου νόμων τῆς πόλεως (where Stallb. reads ἂν τι against the best MSS). To account for this *gen.* Valckenaer proposed εἴ τι τινας for εἴ τινας (which is the reading of all the MSS). This conjecture is accepted by Auger, Cor., Spohn, and Dind., but appears unnecessary.

κινήσειαν.] κινεῖν especially used of 'meddling' with things sacred.

ἐπισκευάσωσιν.] 'Repair,' 'restore,' = *reficere*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* V. 3. 13, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιττοῦ (the surplus) τὸν ναὺν ἐπισκευάζειν. Hdt. II. 174, τῶν ἱερῶν...ἐς ἐπισκευήν.

τὰ τῶν θεῶν.] After these words the cod. Ambr. inserts ἔδη, the cod. Urb. does not. In *Niccol.* both these MSS unite in the reading τὰ τῶν θεῶν against τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδη of inferior MSS.

δρώντες αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι πολεμήσαντας.

- 157 (μβ'). Ἐχω δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοιαῦτα διελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοις πεπολεμήκασι, ἅμα διαλλάττονται καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς γεγενημένης ἐπιλανθάνονται, τοῖς δ' ἡπειρώταις οὐδ' ὅταν εὖ πάσχωσι χάριν ἴσασιν· οὕτως ἀείμνηστον τὴν ὀργὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν. καὶ πολλῶν μὲν οἱ πατέρες

σώμασιν ... ἀναθήμασι] ὁμοιοτέ-
λευτα.

157. καὶ γὰρ—ἔχουσιν.] Cf. Liv. XXXI. 29, *Aetolos, Acarnanias, Macedonas, ejusdem linguae homines, leves ad tempus ortae causae disjungunt conjunguntque: cum alienigenis, cum barbaris aeternum omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque. Natura enim, quae perpetua est, non mutabilibus in diem causis, hostes sunt*, and Plat. *Rep.* 470 c.

ἐπιλανθάνονται.] 'They forget.' The parts in use in Attic prose are λανθάνω, ἐλάνθανον, λήσω, ἔλαθον, λέληθα, ἐλελήθην· ἐπιλανθάνομαι, ἐπελάνθανόμην, ἐπιλήσομαι, ἐπελ-
αθήσομαι, ἐπιδέλησομαι (I have forgotten), ἐπελελήσομαι. In short as a general rule λανθάνω, &c., and ἐπιλανθάνομαι, &c., are used in Attic prose; not ἐπιλανθάνω, &c., nor λανθάνομαι, &c. (for full details see Veitch, *Gk. Vbs.* s. v. λανθάνω).

πολλῶν...μηδισμοῦ θάνατον κατέ-
γνωσαν] 'Multos capitis damnarunt, quod Medis studere videntur.' Wolf.—The construction of καταγινώ-
σκειν is extremely varied: it takes either a gen. of the person condemned and the acc. of the charge, e.g. § 133, καταγινώσκει μανίαν ἀμφοτέρων, ad *Nicocl.* § 12, *Archid.* § 13, de *Pace*, §§ 17, 66, *Panath.* § 23, *Callim.* § 65 τοσαύτην πονηρίαν ἡμῶν καταγνώσκει, *Lochit.* § 6, ὅταν του καταγινώτῃ ἱεροσύλαν ἢ κλοπὴν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὧν ἂν λάβωσι, τὴν τιμωρίαν ποιήσῃ, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἀπάντων θάνατον κατακρίνετε, or (2) a double gen. (of the person and of

the legal charge), e.g. Dem. *Aristogit.* I. § 7, παρανόμων αὐτοῦ κατέγνωτε, *Lysias, Agorat.* (XIII) § 65, συκοφαντίας αὐτοῦ κατέγνωτε, or (3) (rarely) a double acc. Xen. *Hell.* I. 7. 33, προδοσίαν καταγινόντες...οὐχ ἱκανοὺς γενομένους κ.τ.λ., *Lobeck, Aj.* p. 351, ed. 2, or (4) (very rarely, if ever) acc. of the person and gen. of the crime, *Lysias de caede Eratosth.* § 30, τοῦτον μὴ καταγινώσκειν φόνον (which Reiske and Frohberger rightly alter into τοῦτον...φόνον). Besides these constructions we have simple forms like that in Dem. *Aristocr.* § 205, μηδισμὸν κατέγνωσαν.

In the present passage we have the gen. of the person (πολλῶν) governed directly by κατὰ in καταγιν., the gen. of the charge (μηδισμοῦ), the acc. of the penalty (θάνατον).

To illustrate the historical allusion, we may refer to the story of Lycidas told in Hdt. ix. 5. In 479 B. C. Mardonius, after an unsuccessful appeal to Athens made through Alexander (§ 94. n.), resolved on a further attempt, through one Murchides, to induce the Athenians to come to terms: he met with a refusal which was all but unanimous. One senator, Lycidas, ventured to propose acceptance of the overtures: and the senate and the people stoned him to death, and the Athenian women in Salamis inflicted the same vengeance on his wife and children. (Cf. *Lycurg. Leocr.* § 122, ἄξιον τολῆνν ἀκούσαι περὶ τοῦ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτήσαντος

ἡμῶν μηδισμοῦ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς συλλόγοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀράς ποιοῦνται, πρὶν ἄλλο τι χρηματίζειν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύεται Πέρσαις τῶν πολιτῶν· Εὐμολπίδαι δὲ καὶ Κήρυκες ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν μυστηρίων διὰ τὸ τοῦτον μῖσος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις εἶργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ e

γενομένου ψήφισματος, ὃν ἡ βουλὴ ὅτι λόγῳ μόνον ἐνεχέει προδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν, περιελομένη τοὺς στεφάνους, αὐτοχειρὶ ἀπεκτείνεν, and Grote, *H. G.* III. 493 n.)—v. also Demosthenes (*Fals. Leg.* p. 427, § 270), where the stories of the Medism of Arthmius and of Callias are introduced with the words ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ῥαθυμεῖτε, ὧν θάνατον κατεγνώκασιν οἱ πρόγονοι.

τοῖς συλλόγοις.] ‘Public assemblies.’ σύλλογος is here a generic term; the existence of the specific word ἐκκλησία leads to an occasional use of σύλλογος for any public assembly differing from the ἐκκλησία (e.g. Dem. *Fals. Leg.* p. 378, § 122), but in this passage it is not so. σύλλογος here includes the ἐκκλησία, as well as the βουλὴ. At the commencement of these assemblies, a long form of blended prayer and imprecation was recited, and one of the clauses was devoted to a special curse against all who entered into negotiations with the Persians. According to Plutarch, this anathema was introduced into the existing formula by Aristides, shortly after the battle of Salamis: *vnt. Arist.* 10, ἔτι δὲ ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεῖσάτο Μήδοις ἢ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολίποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. The whole of the formula is parodied by Aristophanes, *Thesmophor.* 295 sqq. cf. esp. 355, εἴ τις ἐπιβουλεύει τι τῷ δήμῳ κακὸν | τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἢ πικηρυκεύεται | Εὐριπίδῃ Μήδοις τ’ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν | τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν κ.τ.λ.... | κακὸς ἀπολέσθαι τοῦτον αὐτὸν κῶκίαν | ἀράσθε.—Dem. *Fals. Leg.* p. 363, § 70, (after the ‘Ἀρὰ has been recited in court) ταῦτα... καθ’ ἐκάστην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κήρυξ

εὐχεται...καὶ ὅταν ἡ βουλὴ καθῇται παρ’ ἐκείνῃ πάντων, and *Aristocr.* § 97. (See further Schömann *de comitiis Att.* c. VIII.)

χρηματίζειν.] ‘To transact business.’ Cf. esp. Aeschin. *Timarch.* § 23, πῶς κελεύει τοὺς προέδρους χρηματίζειν; ἔπειδ’ ἂν τὸ καθάριστον περινεχθῇ καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς εὐξήται. Also Aristoph. *Thesm.* 378.

εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύεται.] Goodwin’s *Gk. Moods and Tenses*, § 53, n. 2.

Εὐμολπίδαι.] ‘Eumolpus of Eleusis was the son of Poseidon (v. § 18) and the Eponymous hero of the sacred gens called the Eumolpids, in whom the principal functions, appertaining to the mysterious rites of Demeter at Eleusis, were vested by hereditary privilege.’ v. Grote, *H. G.* I. 168—9, new ed. and especially Lobeck’s *Aglaoph.* I. pp. 212—215.

Κήρυκες.] The priestly house of Eleusinian heralds, descended from a legendary Ceryx, (according to Pausan. I. 38) son of Eumolpus, or (according to Pollux, VII. 103) son of Hermes and Pandrosus daughter of Cecrops. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* II. 4. 20, (after the battle in the Peiraeus between Thrasybulus and the Thirty) Κλεόκριτος ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ μάλ’ εὐφώνος ὧν κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξε κ.τ.λ. Andoc. *de mysteriis*, p. 15, § 116, ἐξηγῇ Κηρύκων ὧν, οὐχ ὁσίων σοι ἐξηγεῖσθαι (‘this was apparently reserved to the Eumolpidae or Eubutadae.’ Sluiter’s n. *ad loc.*); their hereditary nature is proved by *ib.* p. 16, § 127, τὸν παῖδα ἦδη μέγαν ὄντα εἰσάγει εἰς Κήρυκας, φάσκων εἶναι νιὸν αὐτοῦ.

ἐν τῇ τελετῇ.] v. p. 58—9. n.

βαρβάροις εἶργεσθαι κ.τ.λ.] *Hdt.*

158 τοῖς ἀνδροφόνους, προαγορεύουσιν. οὕτω δὲ φύσει πολεμικῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν μύθων ἥδιστα συνδιατρίβομεν τοῖς Τρωϊκοῖς καὶ Περσικοῖς, δι' ὧν ἔστι πυνθάνεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων συμφοράς. εὔροι δ' ἂν τις ἐκ μὲν τοῦ 74

VIII. 63, αὐτέων (sc. Ἀθηναίων) ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται, Lysias, *Andoc.* p. 198, § 5, and Libanius, *Or. Corinth.* p. 356. t. IV. (quoted by Lobeck, *Agf.* I. p. 15), οὗτοι (sc. οἱ μυσταγωγοί)...καθαροῖς εἶναι τοῖς μύσταις ἐν κοινῷ προαγορεύουσιν, οἷον τὰς χεῖρας, τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν φωνὴν Ἑλλήνας εἶναι.

ἀνδροφόνους.] Liv. XLV. 5, and for more general passages Dem. *Lept.* p. 595, § 158, ὁ Δράκων φοβερόν κατασκευάζων καὶ δεινὸν τό τινα αὐτόχειρα ἄλλον ἄλλου γίνεσθαι καὶ γράφων χέρνιβος εἰργεσθαι τὸν ἀνδροφόνον, σπονδῶν, κρατήρων, ἱερῶν, ἀγορᾶς κ. τ. λ., and Soph. *O. T.* 236—241.

158. τῶν μύθων...τοῖς Τρωϊκοῖς.] For the constr. cf. *ad Dem.* § 50, τοὺς φαίλους τῶν ἀνδράπων. n.

τῶν μύθων—Περσικοῖς.] i. e. 'So that even in the case of legends, we spend our time most pleasantly on those that tell of the Trojan and the Persian wars.' Cf. *Evag.* § 6, τοὺς περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ὕμνουμένους καὶ τραγωδομένους. The 'tale of Troy divine' with its accessory events formed the staple of a vast number of Athenian tragedies: e. g. the *Μυρμιδόνες*, the *Ὅπλων κρίσις*, and the extant *Oresteian trilogy* of Aeschylus; the *Φρόγες* (or *Ἐκτορος λύτρα*), the extant *Ajax* of Sophocles; the *Επειὸς* and the extant *Hecuba* and *Troades* of Euripides. Besides these may be mentioned the *Ἰλίου πέρις* of Iophon, Agathon, Cleophon and Nicomachus.

The Persian war was celebrated by Aeschylus in the *Persae*.

These μῦθοι were also rehearsed in festal hymns like those of Pindar, and were doubtless favorite subjects with a humbler class of men, of whom Philapsius may be an example

(Ar. *Plut.* 177, Φιλέψιος δ' οὐχ ἔνεκα σοῦ μύθους λέγει; Schol. οὗτος πένης ὧν λέγων ἱστορίας ἐτρέφετο).

The words ἥδιστα συνδιατρίβομεν (*jucundissime immoramur* Battie) include reading as well as hearing.

συνδιατρίβομεν...δι' ὧν.] Rauchenstein prints ἐνδιατρίβομεν...ἐξ ὧν, the conjectural readings of Mehler and Cobet respectively.

ἐκείνων] = τῶν βαρβάρων, and refers with strong emphasis to the preceding αὐτοὺς. Cf. *Panath.* § 41, φανησόμεθα πλέον ἀπολελοιπότες αὐτοὺς ἢ 'κείνους τοὺς ἄλλους. Thuc. I. 132. 5, αὐτοῦ...ἐκείνῳ, IV. 29. 3, αὐτοῦ...ἐκείνῳ, VI. 61. 6, θάνατον κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ (Alcibiades) τε καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου, and Plat. *Cratyl.* 430 E, προσελθόντα ἀνδρῖ...δεῖξαι αὐτῷ, ἂν μὲν τύχη, ἐκείνου εἰκόνα, ἂν δὲ τύχη, γυναικός.

εὔροι δ' ἂν τις—μεμνημένους.] This sentence is partly borrowed from the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος of Gorgias (p. 82. n.). Philostr. *vit. Soph.* p. 493, ἐνδιέτριψε τοῖς τῶν Μηδικῶν τροπαίων ἑπαίνοις, ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τρόπαια ὕμνους ἀπαιτεῖ, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θρήνους. The immediate context of these words has not been preserved; otherwise we might find a still closer resemblance between the diction of Gorgias and his pupil. The sentence before us is pervaded by the same rhetorical artifices of ἀντίθεσις, παρίστωσις and παρομοίωσις, as those which are crowded into the long fragment of the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος, which may be found in Baizer and Sauppe's *Oratores Att.* II. p. 129, with the comment of Dionys. Halic. or Maximus Planudes, to this effect: 'Here Gorgias has heaped together a number of pompous phrases to convey somewhat at superficial (ἐπιπολιού-

πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕμνους πεποιημένους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας θρήνους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἀδομένους, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμ-
 159 φοραῖς ἡμᾶς μεμνημένους. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν μεῖζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκωμίασε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουλευθῆναι τοὺς προ- γόνους ἡμῶν ἐντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄθλοις καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων, ἵνα b

τέρας) ideas, whilst he embellishes his speech all through with πάρισα and ὁμοιοτέλευτα, and ὁμοιοκάρκτα to a nauseous excess.' (I cite the words by preference from Mr Cope's *transl.* in his art. in *Journ. of Cl. and S. Philol.* vol. III. no. 7. p. 67, 8. q. v.).

For a sentence framed on the same model, as that before us, cf. *Phil.* § 117—8.

ὕμνους.] *c.g.* the famous *fragm.* of Pindar (46), αἶ τε λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ αἰδοίμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῶναι, where Athens is praised as 'bulwark of Hellas,' doubtless with reference to the Persian wars. (Cf. *de Perm.* § 166, where Isocr. institutes a calm comparison between himself and Pindar with reference to their respective praises of Athens).—In Pindar *Isth.* IV. (= V) 50 (= 64) we read of the heroism of Aegina in the 'ruinous rain and deathful battle-storm of Salamis.'

θρήνους.] v. Becker's *Charicles*, Exc. on the Burials, especially p. 387—8. Thuc. II. 46 (at the funeral of those who had fallen in fighting πρὸς Ἕλληνας) νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι δὴν προσήκει ἕκαστος, ἀποχωρεῖτε. The 'dirges' may also (as Bens. suggests) have formed part of the ἀγῶνες μουσικῆς πάσης which Plato (*Menex.* 249 B) mentions among the accessories of a public funeral.

τοὺς δ'...ἡμᾶς μεμνημένους.] Observe the sudden change from the passive participles πεποιημένους &c. to μεμνημένους which, though passive in form, is middle in sense. ἡμᾶς is

the subject, τοὺς the object of μεμνη- μένους. For the rare acc. after μέμνημαι cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 491, μέμνησο λουτρῶν, followed in the next line by μέμνησο δ' ἀμφίβληστρον. (Madv. *Synt.* § 58 R 2). The reading adopted in the text is sanctioned by codd. Urb. and Ambr. The reading of Bekker and BS (τῶν δ') has nothing but simplicity to recom- mend it.

159. Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν...ἐν τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄθλοις.] Cf. Plato, *Hipparch.* 228 B and Lycurgus, *Leocr.* p. 161, § 102, οὐτῶν ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν (sc. τὸν Ὀμηρον) ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἐκαστὴν πενταετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν βαψωδεῖσθαι τὰ ἐπη. (Grote, *H. G.* P. I. c. XXI. = vol. I. p. 524, new ed.) Cf. also Plat. *Ion*, passim.

τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων.] 'The poems of Homer were thought to contain, by precept and example, everything calculated to awaken national spirit and to instruct a man how to be καλὸς καγαθός.' In Plat. *Rep.* x. 606 E we hear of certain eulogists of Homer who asserted that he had educated Greece. In Xen. *Sympr.* 3, 5, Niceratos says of himself: ὁ πατήρ ἐπιμελοῦμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην, ἠγάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὀμήρου ἐπη μαθεῖν. (v. Becker's *Charicles*, Exc. Scene I. p. 233, 3rd. ed.) Plutarch, *Alcib.* VII. Τὴν δὲ παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραλάσσωσιν ἐπέστη γραμματοδιδασκάλοι καὶ βιβλίον ἤτησεν Ὀμηρικόν. Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου μηδὲν ἔχειν Ὀμήρου,

- πολλάκις ἀκούοντες τῶν ἐπῶν ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὴν ἔχθραν
τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ζηλοῦντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν
στρατευσαμένων, τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμῶμεν.
160 (μγ'.) "Ὡστε μοι δοκεῖ πολλὰ λίαν εἶναι τὰ παρακελευόμενα
πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δ' ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς, οὐ σαφέστερον
οὐδέν. ὃν οὐκ ἀφετέον· καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν παρόντι μὲν μὴ
χρῆσθαι, παρελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ μεμνήσθαι. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ
βουληθῆμεν ἡμῖν προσγενέσθαι, μέλλοντες βασιλεῖ πολε-
161 μεῖν, ἔξω τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχόντων; οὐκ Αἴγυπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ
καὶ Κύπρος ἀφέστηκε, Φοινίκη δὲ καὶ Συρία διὰ τὸν πόλε-
μον ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι, Τύρος δ' ἐφ' ἣ μέγ' ἐφρόνησεν,
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐκείνου κατείληπται; τῶν δ' ἐν Κι-
λικίᾳ πόλεων τὰς μὲν πλείστας οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὄντες ἔχουσι, d
τὰς δ' οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ κτήσασθαι. Λυκίας δ' οὐδεὶς
162 πώποτε Περσῶν ἐκράτησεν. Ἑκατόμνως δ' ὁ Καρίας

κονδύλῳ καθικόμενος αὐτοῦ παρῆλθεν.
'Ἐτέρου δὲ φήσαντος ἔχειν "Ὁμηρον
ὑφ' αὐτοῦ διωρθωμένον." 'Εἴτ' ἐφη
'γράμματα διδάσκεις, "Ὁμηρον ἐπα-
ορθοῦν ἱκανὸς ὢν; οὐχὶ τοὺς νέους
παιδεύεις;" See also *Ar. Ranae*, 1035.

§§ 160—169. *We are summoned
to war by the critical position of Per-
sia, and we must grasp our opportu-
nity before it is too late. We are also
summoned by the present deplorable
condition of Greece, which is the result
of our internal feuds and factions.*

160. **πολλὰ λίαν.** The adv.
λίαν often comes after the word
which it qualifies. *e. g.* § 73, *μῆταχὺ*
λίαν παραδραμεῖν, de Ferni. § 215,
and *Arcep.* § 77. (Contrast *λίαν ἀκρι-
βῶς* in § 162). Cf. adv. πάνν, Thuc.
VIII. 56, Plat. *Hip. Maj.* 282, Dem.
Conon. init. πολλὸν χρόνον πάνν. (v.
also Strange ap. Jahn's *Jahrb. Philol.*
suppl. 3, p. 585—6.)

καιρὸς. v. *ad Dem.* § 3. n.

ὃν οὐκ ἀφετέον. Madv. *Synt.*
§ 84 c τοῦ Goodwin's *Gk. moods and
tenses*, § 114. 2.

161. **Αἴγυπτος... καὶ Κύπρος.**]
v. §§ 140, 141.

Φοινίκη καὶ Συρία κ.τ.λ.] Cf.

Evaag. § 62, μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησε Κύπρον
ἅπασαν κατασχεῖν, Φοινίκην δ' ἐπὶ-
θήσε Τύρον δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, Κι-
λικίαν δὲ βασιλέως ἀπέστησεν, and
Diodor. xv. 2, Ἐκυρίευσεν (sc. Eva-
goras) κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην Τύρου καὶ
τινῶν ἐτέρων.

ἀνάστατοι.] 'devastated.' v. §
37. n.

Λυκίας—ἐκράτησεν.] Lycia was
conquered by Harpagus, general of
the elder Cyrus, after a desperate
resistance on the part of the Xan-
thians (Hdt. i. 176), it was included
in the satrapies of Darius (*id.* III.
90), and contributed fifty ships to
the navy of Xerxes (*id.* VII. 92).
But it is probable that the Lycians
were so far defended by mount
Cragus, Massicytus, and other spurs
of the range of Taurus as to render
the allegiance to Persia little more
than nominal.

162. **Ἑκατόμνως κ.τ.λ.]** Cf. Dio-
dor. xv. 2, Εὐαγόρας παρ' Ἑκατόμνου
τοῦ Καρίας δυνάστου λάθρα συμπτρά-
τοντος αὐτῷ χρημάτων ἔλαβε πλῆθος
εἰς διατροφὴν ξενικῶν δυνάμεων. v.
fragm. of Theopompus quoted § 134
n., where Hecatomnos appears as

ἐπίσταθμος τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ πολλὸν ἤδη χρόνον ἀφέστηκεν, ὁμολογήσει δ' ὅταν ἡμεῖς βουλευθῶμεν. ἀπὸ δὲ Κνίδου μέχρι Σινώπης Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν, οὓς οὐ δεῖ πείθειν ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύειν πολεμεῖν. καίτοι τοιούτων ὀρμητηρίων ὑπαρξάντων καὶ τοσούτου πολέμου τὴν Ἀσίαν περιστάντος, τί δεῖ τὰ συμβησόμενα λαὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν; ὅπου γὰρ ε

admiral of the Persian fleet at the beginning of the war with Evagoras.

ἐπίσταθμος.] Harpocr. *lex.* "Ἐκατόμνωσ ὁ Καρίας ἐπίσταθμος," ὃς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν ἢ κατὰ στραπείαν Καρίας κύριος. Strictly speaking, Hecatomnos was hereditary prince of Caria: he was probably descended from the Artemisia (of Halicarnassus) who distinguished herself at Salamis. He was succeeded by his three sons Maussolus, Hidrieus (v. § 152. n. or Idrieus, *Phil.* § 103) and Pidoxarus in turn, and by his two daughters, Artemisia, the consort of Maussolus, and Ada, the consort of Hidrieus. (On the famous Mausoleum v. Newton's *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, letters 38 sqq. The prize of oratory at the contest instituted by Artemisia, in honour of her husband, was won by Theopompus. Suidas, s. v. Ἰσοκράτης Ἀμύκλα.)

Κνίδου μέχρι Σινώπης.] From Cnidus (in Caria) to Sinope (in Paphlagonia).

τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν.] 'Dwell along the coasts of Asia.' *Εἰρ.* 9. 8, οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν παραλλαν οἰκοῦντες. *Cic. de rep.* II. 4, § 9, (speaking of the Gk. colonies in Asia, Thrace, Italy, Sicily and Africa) *barbarorum agris quasi attexta quaedam videtur ora esse Graeciae* (a fringe, as it were, upon the robe of Barbarism). Schneider understands βασιλεῖ after παροικοῦσιν and translates 'are his neighbours in Asia,' but the explanation given above appears simpler.

οὓς οὐ δεῖ πείθειν ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύειν πολεμεῖν.] 'Whom we need not persuade to declare war, so much as abstain from checking them:' i.e.

so far from their requiring to be prompted, they are ready enough to go to war, if we do not prevent them.

μὴ κωλύειν πολεμεῖν.] The following points may be noticed in the usage of κωλύω:—

(1) τοῦτο κωλύει αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμεῖν is the Greek for 'This prevents them from going to war.'

(2) οὐδὲν κωλύει αὐτοὺς πολεμεῖν = 'nothing prevents them from going to war.'

(3) οὐδὲν κωλύει αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμεῖν = 'nothing prevents them from not-going-to-war' (i.e. they are allowed to remain at peace).

(3) is rather an awkward form of expression but is sometimes necessary. It may be seen in Aristot. *Eth.* III. 9. 6, στρατιώτας δ' οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει μὴ τοὺς τοιούτους κρατίστους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἥττον μὲν ἀνδρείους, ἄλλο δ' ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ἔχοντας (i.e. 'Perhaps there is no reason why not such men as I have described should make the best soldiers, but those who &c.'). Plato, *Phaedo*, 106 B, τί κωλύει...μὴ γίγνεσθαι; (= οὐδὲν κωλύει μὴ γίγνεσθαι): and *Phaedr.* 268 E, οὐδὲν κωλύει μηδὲ συμκρόν ἁρμονίας ἐπαίνειν κ.τ.λ.

ὀρμητηρίων.] The context shews that this means 'starting-points,' i.e. 'bases of operation.' Cf. § 163, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενοις. Benseiler is right in condemning as less satisfactory such translations as 'opportunities,' and 'Anreizungen,'—a condemnation which includes the explanation given by L. and S. who doubtless borrowed their translation 'incentives' from the *incitamentum* of Mitchell's *Lex. Graec. Isocr.*

- μικρῶν μερῶν ἥτους εἰσὶν, οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὥς ἂν διαθεθεῖν,
 163 εἰ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖν. ἔχει δ' οὕτως. ἐὰν
 μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐρρωμενεστέως κατὰσχη τὰς πόλεις τὰς
 ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, φρουρὰς μείζους ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ νῦν ἐγκαταστήσας, 75
 τάχ' ἂν καὶ τῶν νήσων αἱ περὶ τὴν ἡπειρον, οἷον Ῥόδος
 καὶ Σάμος καὶ Χίος, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου τύχας ἀποκλίναιεν
 ἢν δ' ἡμεῖς αὐτὰς πρότεροι καταλάβωμεν, εἰκὸς τοὺς τὴν
 Λυδίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν
 164 οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμωμένοις εἶναι. διὸ δεῖ σπεύ-
 δειν καὶ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι διατριβήν, ἵνα μὴ πάθωμεν,
 ὅπερ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὑστερίσαντες τῶν βαρ- b
 βάρων καὶ προέμενοί τινες τῶν συμμάχων ἠναγκάσθησαν
 ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς κινδυνεύειν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς προτέροις
 διαβᾶσιν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον μετὰ πάσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 165 δυνάμεως ἐν μέρει τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕκαστον χειροῦσθαι. δέδεικται
 γὰρ, ὅταν τις πολεμῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων
 συλληγομένους, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ περιμένειν, ἕως ἂν ἐπιστῶσιν,

163. ἐρρωμενεστέως.] Also found in § 172, *de Perm.* § 278, and *ad Nicocl.* § 14. For similar compar. adverbs in -ως, cf. § 43, εὐμενεστέως, § 109, ἀπορωτέως, § 116, ἀθυμοτέως, *de Pace*, § 60, βεβαιωτέως, *de Bigis*, § 29, εὐδεεστέως. Also ἀπειροτέως, κομψωτέως, φιλοπομπωτέως.—We also find (but less frequently) the forms in -ον, e.g. *Archid.* § 101, and *de Perm.* § 72 ἐρρωμενέστερον, *Archid.* § 24, and *Evang.* § 34, συντομώτερον. (Partly from *Lxc.* II. of Bremi's *Isocr.*) On adverbs derived from pf. pass. part. v. § 130. n. οἷον Ῥόδος καὶ Σάμος καὶ Χίος.] 'An del.?' Dobree (*Adversaria* ad loc.).—Cod. Ambr. has Ῥόδος Σάμος Χίος.

αὐτάς.] sc. τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.

τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν.] 'The rest of the up-country.' Similarly we speak of 'Upper Carolina,' 'Upper Canada,' &c.

ἐντεῦθεν.] Refers to the Greek cities on the sea-coast, not to the Islands.

164. διατριβήν.] v. § 41 n. προέμενοί τινες.] The abandoned allies were the Ionians. Hdt. v. 103, μετὰ δὲ (sc. after the defeat of the Ionians at Ephesus) Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλεομένου σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρῳ, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσων σφίσι. κ.τ.λ. 'It is perhaps not going too far to say that if Athens and the other maritime states of Greece had given a hearty and resolute support to the Ionian cause, the great invasions of Darius and Xerxes might have been prevented.' Rawlinson, n. on Hdt. l. c.

ἐν μέρει κ.τ.λ.] The construction is χειροῦσθαι ἐν μέρει ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνῶν. Cf. § 96, ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἐκατέραν.

165. ἕως ἂν ἐπιστῶσιν.] 'Until they are upon one.' ἐπιστῶσιν ought not to be translated as=συστῶσιν. The idea of collective attack is only implied by the context.—It was a desire to bring out this implied force that led the old editors to print ἀθροισθῶσιν which is found in a similar

- ἀλλ' ἔτι διεσπαρμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν c
 προεξαμαρτόντες ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐπηνωρθώσαντο, καταστάν-
 τες εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας· ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς φυλαξόμεθα, καὶ πειρασόμεθα φθῆναι περὶ τὴν Δυ-
 166 διαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν στρατόπεδον ἐγκαταστήσαντες, εἰδότες
 ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἐκόντων ἄρχει τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν, ἀλλὰ
 μείζω δύναμιν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκάστων αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος·
 ἥς ἡμεῖς ὅταν κρείττω διαβιβάσωμεν, ὃ βουλευθέντες ῥαδίως d
 ἂν ποιήσαιμεν, ἀσφαλῶς ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν καρπωσόμεθα.
 πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας πολεμεῖν, ἢ πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν.
- 167 (μδ.) Ἄξιον δ' ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν ἡλικίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν
 στρατείαν, ἧ' οἱ τῶν συμφορῶν κοινωνήσαντες, οἶτοι καὶ
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσωσι καὶ μὴ πάντα τὸν χρόνον δυστυ-
 χοῦντες διαγύγωσιν. ἱκανὸς γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὸς, ἐν ᾧ τί e

passage, *Lochit.* § 13, μὴ περιμέ-
 νηθ' ἕως ἂν ἀθροισθέντες κ.τ.λ. and
 also in Thuc. III. 97, μὴ μένεω ἕως ἂν
 ξυμπαυτες ἀθροισθέντες ἀντιτάξωνται.
 This passage has been discussed by
 Strange (Jahn's *Jahrb. Philol.* Sup.
 III. p. 588), who points out that
 ἐπιστώσω forms a parallelism with
 ἐπιχειρεῖν and is therefore preferred
 to συστῶσω.

ἐπηνωρθώσαντο.] v. ad *Dem.* § 3,
 ἐπανορθῶ, n. and *Archid.* § 48, τὰς
 τσιαντάς συμφορὰς αἱ πόλεις ἐπανορ-
 θοῦνται. (v. Lobeck, *Phrynichus*,
 250, 1).

φθῆναι.] The *second* aor. inf.
 of φθάνω is also found in § 87.
 The *first* aor. inf. φθάσαι does not
 occur in Isocr. but the opt. φθάσειε
 is used in *de Pace*, § 120. We have
 ἐφθῆσαν in *Paneg.* § 86, and *de Bigis*,
 § 37, and ἐφθασαν in *de Pace*, § 98,
Phil. § 53, and *Eugag.* § 53. In
 the 3rd pers. sing. and in the 1st
 and 2nd pl. the *second* aor. form
 alone is used, *Ἰταρεζ.* § 23, ἐφθῆ,
Aegin. § 22, ἐφθην, and *Phil.* § 7,
 ἐφθῆτε. (*Exc.* I. to Bremi's *Isocr.*)
 For the usage of other authors v.
 Veitch, *Gk. verbs*.

166. ἥς—καρπωσόμεθα.] 'And
 when we have transported a stronger
 force than *this* (which we could easily
 do, if we pleased), we shall securely
 reap the revenues of the whole of
 Asia.' βουλευθέντες is = εἰ βουλη-
 θεῖμεν. 'The participle often stands
 for the *protasis* of a conditional sen-
 tence and its tenses represent the
 various forms of *protasis* expressed by
 the Indic, the Subjunct., or (as here)
 the Optative. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 504,
 ἄστρων ἂν ἔλθοιμ' αἰθέρος πρὸς
 ἀντολὰς | καὶ γῆς ἐνερθε, δυνατὸς ἂν
 (= εἰ δυνατὸς εἴην) δρᾶσαι τάδε,'
 Goodwin's *Gk. moods and tenses*,
 § 109, 6.

167. ἱκανὸς γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the
 time past is sufficient,—a time that
 has been filled with every horror.'
 A literal transl. (e.g. in which what
 horror &c.?) would be at variance
 with Eng. idiom; τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐ
 γέγονεν; = is there a single horror
 that has not happened? i. e. every
 horror has happened.

ὁ παρεληλυθὸς.] sc. χρόνος (which
 is actually added in cod. Ambr.).
 v. Madv. *Synt.* § 87, b. R.

τῶν δεινῶν οὐ γέγονεν; πολλῶν γὰρ κακῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπαρχόντων, αὐτοὶ πλείω τῶν ἀναγκαίων
 168 προσεξευρήκαμεν, πολέμους καὶ στάσεις ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμ-
 ποιήσαντες, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀνόμως ἀπόλ-
 λυσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μετὰ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλᾶ-
 σθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπικουρεῖν
 ἀναγκαζομένους, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῖς φίλοις μαχομένους
 ἀποθνήσκειν. ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλ'
 ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν συγκειμέναις
 δακρύειν ἀξιούσιν, ἀληθινὰ δὲ πάθη πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ γι-
 γνόμενα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐφορῶντες, τοσοῦτου δέουσιν ἐλεεῖν,
 ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων κακοῖς ἢ
 169 τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἀγαθοῖς. ἴσως δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐη-

168. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κ.τ.λ.] 'To die, fighting with their friends on behalf of their enemies.'

ἐπὶ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] A similar contrast may be observed in Andoc. *Alciib.* § 23 (quoted by Bens.), ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἐν μὲν ταῖς τραγῳδαῖς τοιαῦτα θεωροῦντες δεινὰ νομίζετε, γινόμενα δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁρῶντες οὐδὲν φροντίζετε. καί τοι ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθε πότερον οὕτω γεγεννηται ἢ πέπλασται ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν· ταῦτα δὲ σαφῶς εἰδότες οὕτω πεπραγμένα παρανόμως ῥαθύνως φέρετε.

ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν συγκειμένας.] For the constr. cf. *ad Dem.* § 36. n. The active of συγκείμενος is συντίθημι. Cf. *Ænag.* § 36 (Schn.), οὐ μόνον τῶν γεγεννημένων τὰς καλλίστας ἀπαγγέλλουσιν (οἱ ποιηταί), ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν καινὰς συντίθεασιν. The poets in the text are doubtless the tragedians.

δακρύειν.] In Xen. *Symp.* III. 11, we hear of Callippides the actor, ὃς ὑπερσεμνύνεται, ὅτι δύναται πολλοὺς κλαίοντας καθίζειν. The impressive nature of an Athenian audience may be further illustrated by the story in Herodotus, VI. 21, where we are told that the whole theatre fell into tears (ἐς δάκρυα ἔπεσε τὸ θέατρον) at the representa-

tion of the *Capture of Miletus* by Phrynichus (although that was an instance of ἀληθινῶν πάθος). Plutarch, more than once, tells of the effect produced on the brutal Alexander of Pherae as he listened to a pathetic drama of Euripides. He hurried from the theatre, lest the audience should see the murderer of many citizens 'weeping for Hecuba.' (Plut. *Pelop.* 29). On the effect produced by the recitation of Homer on the Rhapsodist and his audience (a kindred subject to that in the text) v. the interesting passage in Plato where Ion describes himself (like the player in Hamlet, 'tears in his eyes, distraction in his aspect') as influenced by the pathos and the horror of his theme, and his audience κλαίοντάς τε καὶ δεινὸν ἐμβλέποντας καὶ συνθαμβοῦντας τοῖς λεγομένοις. (*Ion*, 535 C, D.)

ἐφορῶντες.] 'Gazing upon.' The context alone implies that it is a careless and indifferent gaze. Soph. *Trach.* 1269, θεοὺς ἀγνωμοσύνην | εἰδότες... | οἱ φύσαντες καὶ κληζόμενοι | πατέρες τοιαύτ' ἐφορῶσι πάθῃ. | τὰ μὲν οὖν μέλλοντ' οὐδεὶς ἐφορᾷ.

169. εὐηθείας.] εὐήθης and its subst. εὐήθεια have a double meaning, (1) 'well-disposed,' 'good dispo-

θείας πολλοὶ καταγελάσειαν, εἰ δυστυχίας ἀνδρῶν ὀδυροίμην ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς Ἰταλία μὲν ἀνάστατος γέγονε, Σικελία δὲ καταδεδούλωται, τοσαῦται δὲ πόλεις τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκδέδονται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις ἐστίν.

170 (μέ.) Θαναμάζω δὲ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν

sition,' (2) from a supposed connexion between good-nature and feebleness of intellect, 'simple' or 'silly,' 'simplicity' or 'silliness.' (v. Thuc. III. 83. 1.)

For *εὐθθεια* in the good sense, cf. Plato, *Rep.* III. 400 E, *εὐλογία ἄρα καὶ εὐαρμοστία καὶ εὐσχημοσύνη καὶ εὐρυθμία εὐθθεία ξυνακολουθεῖ, οὐχ ἣν ἀνοιαν οἶσαν ὑποκοριζόμενοι καλοῦμεν ὡς εὐθήεαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐ τε καὶ καλῶς τὸ ἥθος κατεσκευασμένην διάνοιαν.*

Of the secondary sense the present passage is one instance out of many. Cf. *ἡδύς* (= *εὐθής* 'έκάλουν δὲ οὕτω τοὺς ὑπομάρους' Suidas) *γλυκύς*, &c.

An exact parallel to the history of the word *εὐθής* may be noticed in the word 'simple' (cf. 'simpleton'). Thus also the word 'silly' has lost the connexion it once had with the Germ. *selig* (blessed, holy), in the time when Fletcher spoke of the Infant Saviour as 'the harmless silly babe.' Cf. Latimer's 2nd sermon of the card, 'Who made thee so bold to meddle with my silly beasts whom I bought so dearly with my precious blood?' and Bp. Andrewes' *Sermons*, p. 655, ed. 1611, 'the silly innocent babe.' (The last reference is due to Mr Mayor).

Ἰταλία.. ἀνάστατος.] Alluding to the devastation of part of Italy by Dionysius I. In 389 B.C. (according to Diodorus, XIV. 106, 107, 111) he captured Caulon, removed its inhabitants to Syracuse, destroyed (*κατασκάψας*) the city, and gave the territory to others; in the next year did the same to Hipponium; and in 387, after reducing Rhegium to

great straits by famine, he took the place, doomed the commander Phyton to a tragical death, and sold into slavery many of the citizens. (v. Bens. *transl.* n.)

Σικελία... καταδεδούλωται.] Dionysius I. had, by a disgraceful peace, surrendered Selinus, Acragas and Himera to Carthage (Diodor. XIII. 114); had subdued many of the states of Sicily (e.g. Syracuse, Naxos, Leontini, *id.* XIV. 14 sqq.); had more recently (in 396 B.C.) captured Mesene, Solus, Henna and other places, and entered into terms with the tyrant of Agyris and the prince of Centuripae (*ib.* 78. v. Bens. *transl.* n.).

πόλεις.] *sc.* in Asia.
τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη.] *sc.* Greece proper. Cf. § 126 (on Mantinea, Thebes and Phlius).

§§ 170—186. *The leading statesmen of Greece ought to have long since endeavoured to bring about an expedition against Persia, instead of leaving the question to others. 173—4. Nothing short of such an expedition can heal our dissensions and place our goodwill upon a firm foundation. 175—8. The convention of Antalcidas is no hindrance to the proposed expedition. That disgraceful compact has been already broken: Its terms were unjustly negotiated, in accordance with the dictates of the king of Persia, who has thereby (179) obtained half the world for his dominion; (180) and these terms, to the dishonour of all Greece, remain engraved in our public temples,—a nobler trophy than Persia ever raised upon the field of battle. 181—4. We are loudly called to war by every plea of Justice, Expediency, Revenge and Glory. 185. No*

εἰ προσήκειν αὐτοῖς ἡγούνται μέγα φρονεῖν, μηδὲν πώποθ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι δυνηθέντες. ἐχρήν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἄξιοι τῆς παρούσης δόξης, ἀπάντων ἀφεμένους τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰσηγεῖσθαι καὶ συμβου-
 171 λεύειν. τυχὸν μὲν γὰρ ἂν τι συνεπέραναν· εἰ δὲ καὶ προ-
 απείπου, ἀλλ' οὖν τοὺς γε λόγους ὥσπερ χρησμοὺς εἰς τὸν

one will refuse to join an enterprise that has Athens and Sparta for its generals and the infliction of vengeance on the Barbarians for its end. 186. The heroes of this enterprise will out-rival the heroes that fought against Troy; and every poet and every orator will celebrate their valour.

170. θαυμάζω τῶν δυναστεόντων...εἰ... Cf. § 1, ἐθαύμασα τῶν συναγαγόντων...ὅτι. n.

ἐχρήν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἄξιοι.] An iambic line. Cf. *Panath. init.* νεώτερος μὲν ὢν προηρόμην γρά-
 φειν. (Cic. *Orat.* § 190, *elegit ex multis Isocrati libris, xxx fortasse versus Hieronymus, plerisque senarios, sed etiam anapaestos* cet. q. v.) Similar lines have been found in Dem. *Ol.* i. § 5, δῆλον γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ὅτι, *Mid.* § 165, ὁ παντάπασιν ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι, and *Lacr.* § 22, τοιαῦτα τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ κακοεργήματα (Mr Heslop's n. on *Ol. l.c.*). As an instance of a trochaic line we have Dem. *Androt.* § 54, τοὺς ταλαιπώρους μετοίκους οἷς ὕβριστικώτερον.—In the summary of the lost τέχνη of Isocr. (preserved by Maximus Planudes and Joannes Sicel.) we have these maxims: ὅλως δὲ ὁ λόγος μὴ λόγος ἔστω· ξηρὸν γάρ, μηδὲ ἔμμετρος· καταφανὲς γάρ· ἀλλὰ μεμύχθω παντὶ ῥηθιμῶ, μάλιστα ἱαμβικῶ καὶ τροχαϊκῶ. Isocr. here recommends a blending of various rhythms, especially the iambic and trochaic. An iambic or trochaic rhythm may be produced without resulting in an iambic or trochaic line, by giving merely a general preponderance to the *iambus* or *trochee*; but in the present passage the limit has been

passed, and the result is unmistakeable metre,—a violation of the rule above quoted. (Cic. *Brut.* § 32.) On this subject, cf. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 8, ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μὴ ποίημα γὰρ ἐστὶ. ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς...ὁ δ' ἱαμβὸς αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις ἢ τῶν πολλῶν...διὸ μάλιστα πάντων ἱαμβεῖα φθέγγονται λέγοντες. Aristot. then proceeds to disapprove of the trochaic rhythm, as being too lively and tripping, of which disapproval Spengel says 'Aristotelem... hic testē Isocratis doctrinam impugnare certum [?] est.'—Also Cic. *Orat.* § 189, *versus saepe in oratione per imprudentiam dicimus; quod est vehementer vitiosum; sed non attendimus neque exaudimus nosmetipsos; Senarios vero et Hipponacteos effugere vix possumus; magnam enim partem ex iambis constat nostra oratio*; and Quintil. g. 4. 72. (v. Spengel's n. on Arist. *Rhet. l.c.* and Mr Cope's *Introd.* pp. 303 sqq. 379 sqq.)

εἰσηγεῖσθαι.] 'To introduce, or propose a subject,' *Phil.* § 13 and *Ephr.* i. 7, εἰσηγοῦμην...συμβουλεύειν.

171. τυχόν.] 'Perhaps,' *Phil.* § 94, τοῖς...οἰκείους τυχόν ἂν χρησαίμην. Madv. *Synt.* § 182.

εἰ καὶ προαπείπου.] sc. πρὸ τοῦ συμπεράναί τι. καὶ emphasizes προαπείπου. 'If they had even failed, they might at any rate have bequeathed us their counsels as oracles for the time to come.'

ἀλλ' οὖν...γε.] 'Yet at any rate,' *ad Dem.* § 39. Soph. *Phil.* 1306, ἀλλ' οὖν τοσοῦτόν γ' ἴσθι.

χρησμούς.] 'Solemn, oracular utterances.' Cf. Lycurg. *Leocr.* § 92 (quoted by Schn.), καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι

ἐπίοντα χρόνον ἂν κατέλιπον. νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς με-
γίσταις δόξαις ὄντες ἐπὶ μικροῖς σπουδάξουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς δ
τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξεστηκόσι περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων
συμβουλευεῖν παραλελοίπασιν.

- 172 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅσφ' μικροψυχότεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ
προεστώτες ἡμῶν, τοσούτῳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρρωμενестέρως δεῖ
σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγησόμεθα τῆς παρουσίας ἔχθρας. νῦν
μὲν γὰρ μάτην ποιούμεθα τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας·
οὐ γὰρ διαλυόμεθα τοὺς πολέμους ἀλλ' ἀναβαλλόμεθα, καὶ
περιμένομεν τοὺς καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς ἀνήκεστον τι κακὸν ἀλλή- e
173 λους ἐργάσασθαι δυνησόμεθα. (μς'.) Δεῖ δὲ ταύτας τὰς
ἐπιβουλάς ἐκποδῶν ποιησαμένους ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπι-
χειρεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τὰς τε πόλεις ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσομεν καὶ
πιστότερον διακεισόμεθα πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς. ἔστι δ' ἀπλούς
καὶ ῥάδιος ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τούτων· οὔτε γὰρ εἰρήνην οἶόν τε
βεβαίαν ἀγαγεῖν, ἣν μὴ κοινῇ τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμήσωμεν, 77
οὔθ' ὁμοιοῦσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν ἂν καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας ἐκ
τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ποιησώμεθα.
174 τούτων δὲ γενομένων καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον
ἡμῶν ἀφαιρεθείσης, ἥ καὶ τὰς ἐταιρίας διαλύει καὶ τὰς

τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὲς ποιητῶν ὥσπερ
χρησμοὺς γράψαντες τοῖς ἐπιγενο-
μένοις τάδε τὰ ἱαμβεῖα καταλιπεῖν,
Aesch. *Ctesiph.* § 136 (after quoting
some verses of Hesiod), οἶμαι ὑμῖν
δόξαι οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσίοδου εἶναι
ἀλλὰ χρησμὸν εἰς Δημοσθένους πολι-
τεῖαν, and Plat. *Apol.* p. 39 c, ἐπι-
θυμῶ ὑμῖν χρησμοφθεῖναι...καὶ γὰρ εἰμι
ἤδη ἐνταῦθα, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι
χρησμοφθεῖσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθα-
νεῖσθαι.

τοῖς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξεστηκόσι.]
Isocr. was prevented from public
speaking by weakness of voice and
nervous. *Panath.* § 9, 10, *Εἰρ.* 1. 9
and 8. 7, *Phil.* § 81, 2, πρὸς μὲν τὸ
πολιτεῦσθαι πάντων ἀφύεστατος ἐγε-
νόμην τῶν πολιτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν
ἔσχον ἱκανὴν οὔτε τόλμαν δυναμένην
ἐχλῶ χρῆσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι καὶ
λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
καλυδουμένοις κ.τ.λ. q. v. Plin. *Εἰρ.*

·VI. 29. 6.

ἐξεστηκόσι.] In the very next §,
we have a syncopated form προεστώ-
τες. (v. table of various readings.)

172. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'.] *ad Dem.* § 9,
Paneg. § 85.

ἐρρωμενестέρως.] v. § 163. n.
νῦν μὲν γὰρ...οὐ γὰρ.] For this
double γὰρ cf. § 92, 145, 185, 186.
For three in succession, v. *Phil.*
§ 141, for five Plato, *Apol.* p. 40 A
(Schn.).—v. also Porson's n. on Eur.
Med. 139.

173. πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς.] Almost
= πρὸς ἀλλήλους. v. § 34, σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς. n.

ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν.] sc. ἐκ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων.

174. ἐταιρίας.] Not 'political
clubs,' as in § 79, but 'companion-
ships,' 'friendships.' Cf. *ad Dem.* § 10,
(Dem.) xxix. adv. *Aphob.* §§ 22,
23, ἔχθρα(ε)ταιρία.

συγγενείας εἰς ἔχθραν προάγει καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καθίστησιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐχ ὁμοουήσομεν καὶ τὰς εὐνοίας ἀληθινὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔξομεν. ὦν ἕνεκα περὶ παντὸς ποιητέον, ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα ἅν τὸν ἐνθένδε πόλεμον εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον διοριζόμεν, ὡς μόνον ἂν τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν ἀπολαύσαιμεν τῶν κινδύνων τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, εἰ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων γεγενημέναις πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καταχρήσασθαι δόξειεν ἡμῖν.

- 175 (μζ'.) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως διὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἄξιον ἐπισχεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπειχθῆναι καὶ θάπτον ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν; c δι' αἱ αἱ μὲν ἡλευθερωμένοι τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖ χάριν ἴσασιν, ὡς δι' ἐκέλευον τυχοῦσαι τῆς αὐτονομίας ταύτης, αἱ δ'

προάγει.] 'Perverts,' here, as often, = *in rem malam ducere*. Dem. *Aristocr.* § 1, *προάγειν εἰς ἀπέχθειαν*, *Lept.* p. 468, § 36, *πρὸς κακίας ὑπερβολὴν*, Xen. *Hell.* III. 5. 2, *εἰς μῖσος*.

οὐχ ἔστιν—ἔξομεν.] *i. e.* 'We cannot fail to be at harmony, and the good-will that we shall have towards one another cannot fail to be genuine.' On *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐχ.* v. Madv. *Synt.* § 102 B. r. 2.

τὰς εὐνοίας ἀληθινὰς ἔξομεν.] The art. shews that *εὐνοίας* is to be translated as a subject, *ἀληθινὰς* as a predicate. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1121, *οὐ γὰρ βάρανσον τὴν τέχνην ἐκτησάμην*, and § 166, *οὐχ ἐκόντων ἄρχει τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν*.—v. Donaldson *Gk. Gr.* § 489—498, 'On the Tertiary Predicate.'

τὸν ἐνθένδε πόλεμον κ.τ.λ.] For the form of expression cf. §§ 88, 96, and esp. 187, *τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εὐδαιμονίαν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην διακομίσαιμεν*. τὸν ἐνθένδε πόλεμον instead of τὸν ἐνθάδε πόλεμον is due to the influence of διοριζόμεν. v. Madv. *Synt.* § 79 b.

ἡπειρον.] v. § 132, *ἡπειρωτας*. n. διοριζόμεν.] The Attic form of διορίζομεν. This contraction is very rarely used, except with futures in -εσω, -ᾶσω, and -ῖσω, from verbs of more than two syllables (which have a short antepenult), in -εω, -αζω, and -ίζω, *e.g.* *τελῶ, βιβῶ, κομῶ*, from

τελέω, βιβάζω, κομίζω. (v. Donaldson, *Gk. Gr.* § 302, Obs. 3). As an exception may be quoted Ar. *Eg.* 891, *προσαμφιῶ*, fut. act. of *προσαμφιέννυμι*, which has no existing form ending in -εω, and, as a verb of varied usage, *ἐξετάζω*, which generally has *ἐξετάσω*, and in one passage only (Isocr. *Evag.* § 34) has *ἐξετάω*. (v. Mr Jebb's n. on Soph. *Aj.* 1027, *ἀποφθεῖν*, and Cobet, *nov. lect.* p. 65.) On the fut. of verbs in -έω, cf. *ad Dem.* § 45. n.

The exact meaning of διορίζω ('transfer') is 'remove across the boundary (ὄρος),' = Lat. *exterminare*, 'to banish.' Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 873 E, *τὸ δὲ ὄφλόν ἐξω τῶν ὄρων τῆς χώρας ἀποκτείναντας διορίσαι*, and *ib.* 874 A, *τὸ ὄφλόν ἐξορίζειν* (v. Dem. *Aristocr.* § 76, and Kennedy's *Leptines*, &c. App. p. 329), and lastly, Plato, *Rep.* 560 D, *ὥθουσιν ἐξω... ἐκβάλλουσι... ὑπερορίζουσι*.

175. τὰς συνθήκας.] § 115. n. ὡς δι' ἐκέλευον κ.τ.λ.] "'Because (as they believe) they have obtained this independence through him.' ὡς is often prefixed to a participle denoting a cause or a purpose. It shows that the participle expresses the idea of the subject of the leading verb, or that of some other person prominently mentioned in the sentence, without implying that it is also the

- ἐκδεδομέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις μάλιστα μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπικαλοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετασχοῦσι τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων δουλεύειν ἡναγκασμένοι. καίτοι πῶς οὐ χρή διαλύειν ταύτας τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἐξ ὧν τοιαύτη δόξα γέγονεν, ὡς ὁ μὲν βάρβαρος κήδεται τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐστίν, ἡμῶν δὲ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ λυμαινό-
 176 μνοι καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντες αὐτήν; ὃ δὲ πάντων καταγε-
 λαστότατον, ὅτι τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις τὰ χεῖριστα τυγχάνομεν διαφυλάττοντες. ἃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτονό-
 μους ἀφήσι τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, πάλαι λέλυται καὶ μάτην ἐν ταῖς στήλαις ἐστίν·
 ἃ δ' αἰσχύνῃ ἡμῖν φέρει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἐκ-
 δέδωκε, ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ χώραν μένει καὶ πάντες αὐτὰ κύρια^e
 ποιοῦμεν, ἃ χρὴν ἀναιρεῖν καὶ μηδὲ μίαν ἑᾶν ἡμέραν, νομί-
 ζοντας προστάγματα καὶ μὴ συνθήκας εἶναι. τίς γὰρ οὐκ
 οἶδεν, ὅτι συνθήκαι μὲν εἰσιν, αἵτινες ἂν ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς
 ἀμφοτέροις ἔχῃσι, προστάγματα δὲ τὰ τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐλατ-
 177 τούντα παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον; διὸ καὶ τῶν πρεσβευσάντων ταύ-
 την τὴν εἰρήνην δικαίως ἂν κατηγοροῦμεν, ὅτι πεμφθέντες
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐποίησαντο τὰς

idea of the speaker or writer." Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 109. n. 4, *Madv. Synl.* § 175 d.

πῶς οὐ χρή;] § 6. n.

κήδεται—ἐστίν.] 'Cares tenderly for Hellas, and is guardian of her peace;' i.e. watches over the various States to prevent them from going to war with one another. The allusion is particularly (but, as Bens. observes, not exclusively) to the peace of Antalcidas. v. Plato, quoted in § 121. n.

οἱ λυμαινόμενοι καὶ κακῶς ποι-
 οῦντες αὐτήν.] 'Those who outrage and maltreat her.' For the double expression, v. § 111, αὐτόχειρας καὶ φορέας. n.

176. ὃ δὲ πάντων καταγελαστό-
 τατον.] (sc. τοῦτ' ἐστίν) ὅτι. v. § 128. n.

λέλυται.] sc. by the Spartans. Cf.

§§ 132, 135, and fragm. of Theopompus, quoted in § 134. n.

στήλαις.] v. § 180, ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις ἀναγράψαντες. n.

ἃ δὲ...ταῦτα δέ.] Δέ in *apodosis*. v. §§ 1, 98. n.

χρὴν]=*εἰς* χρὴν. v. § 19. n.

προστάγματα καὶ μὴ συνθήκας.] 'Dictates and not compacts.' v. § 120, προστάτων. n. and cf. *Archid.* § 51, τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων συνθήκας.

ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς.] 'Equally and impartially.' Similar twin expressions are very common; e.g. in the same sense as the present pair, Thuc. IV. 105, &c. ἴσος καὶ ὁμοιος, and Hdt. VI. 52, Ar. *Pol.* III. 11. 10, ὁμοιος καὶ ἴσος; and, in a different sense, *Areop.* § 78, ὁμοίας καὶ παραπλησίας, Thuc. VII. 52, ἴσος καὶ παραπλησίος. (v. Lobeck, *Paralip.* p. 61, 2).

- συνθήκας. ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, εἴτ' ἐδόκει τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐκάστους, εἴτε καὶ τῶν δοριαλώτων ἐπάρχειν, εἴτε τούτων κρατεῖν ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες, ἔν τι τούτων ὀρισαμένους καὶ κοινὸν τὸ δίκαιον ποιησαμένους, ^b
- 178 οὕτω συγγράφεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρα πόλει καὶ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμαν, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας δεσπότην κατέστησαν, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμησάντων ἡμῶν, ἢ τῆς μὲν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς πάλαι καθεστηκυίας, ἡμῶν δ' ἄρτι τὰς πόλεις κατοικούντων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μὲν νεωστὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ἐχόντων, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ^c
- 179 ναστευνόντων. (μη.) Οἶμαι δ' ἐκείνως εἰπὼν μᾶλλον δηλώσειν τὴν τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γεγεννημένην καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονεξίαν. τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κειμένης δίχα τετμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς

ἐχρῆν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Isocr. says that three definite and equitable courses were open to those who negotiated the peace: viz. that each state should either keep its own original territory; or extend its rule over all the territories it had from time to time acquired by right of war (e.g. Cynuria in the case of Sparta; Aegina, Scione, Mitylene, &c. in that of Athens; Cyprus, Clazomenae, &c. in that of Persia); or, lastly, remain in possession of all that it actually had immediately before the peace (in which case Thebes would have kept her Boeotian cities, Persia her continental territory, but not Cyprus). Instead of deciding on one of these courses they had paid no deference to Athens and Sparta, and had made the Persian king lord of all Asia. (v. Bens. *transl.* n.)

τὴν αὐτῶν.] v. § 99. n.
 συγγράφεσθαι.] *Panath.* § 158, *εἰρήνην...συνεγράψαντο.*
 ὥσπερ ... ἀλλ' οὐκ.] v. § 11, *ὥσπερ.* n.

179. τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γε-

γεννημένην.] On this position of the substantive between the article and participle v. *Madv. Syntr.* § 9. R. I. Cf. § 174, *τὰς εὐνοίας ἀληθινὰς*, n. and esp. *Dem. Aristocr.* § 133, *ἐκ τῆς τῷ Χαριδῆμῳ νῦν ἀδελὰς κατασκευασμένης*, with Weber's n. p. 395—7.

ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ.] 'Beneath the heavens.' For this meaning of *κόσμος* cf. *Plat. Timae.* p. 28 B, *ὁ δὲ πᾶς οὐρανὸς ἢ κόσμος ἢ καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τί ποτε ὀνομαζόμενος μάλιστα ἂν δέχοιτο, τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ὀνομάσθω.* Philolaus (?), the Pythagorean (ap. *Stob. Ecl. Physic.* I. p. 488), gives the name of *κόσμος* to the region of the 5 planets with the sun and the moon, bounded above by *Ὀλύμπτος* and beneath by *Οὐρανός*.

δίχα τετμημένης.] In ancient Greek geography it was a common tenet, that the earth was divided into two parts, Asia and Europe. Africa was reckoned as a mere appendage to one or the other. (v. *Geographi Graeci minores*, II. 495 ed. Müller, Sallust, *Jug.* 17, and *Lucan* IX. 411.)

δ' Εὐρώπης καλουμένης, τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν
 εἴληφεν ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεμόμενος, ἀλλ' d
 180 οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς συνθήκας ποιούμενος. καὶ
 ταύτας ἡμᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις ἀναγράφαντας
 ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν καταθεῖναι, πολλὰ κάλλιον τρό-
 παιον τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γιγνομένων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ
 μικρῶν ἔργων καὶ μιᾶς τύχης ἐστίν, αὐταὶ δ' ὑπὲρ ἰσπαντος
 τοῦ πολέμου καὶ καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐστήκασιν.

τὴν ἡμίσειαν.] *sc.* τῆς γῆς. v. §
 34, τὴν πλείστην τῆς χώρας. n.

ὥσπερ — ποιούμενος.] *i. e.* 'As though he were dividing the territory with Zeus, and not entering into a compact with mortal men.' Isocr. may be alluding (as Wolf suggests) to the well-known division of empire between Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto; who took respectively the heaven, the sea, and the under world, the earth remaining common to all; but we are told that the Great King has one-half, not one-third of the dominion. The expression therefore appears to mean little more than, 'As though Zeus and *he* had the world between them, Zeus might have one-half if *he* pleased, *he* would take the other.' Isocr. may have been thinking of a passage in Hdt. vii. 8, where Xerxes vauntingly declares, τὴν γῆν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμονρέουσιν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὁμονρον εὐσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, and the Scholiast on Aristid. *Panath.* 128 (quoted by Dindf. &c.) appears to have understood it in some such fashion. His words are ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὰ δῆτα διανεμόμενος, τῷ μὲν τοῦ Ὀλύμπου παραχωρῶν, ἐαυτῷ δὲ τὴν γῆν ἔχειν.

180. ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις κ.τ.λ.] At Athens, nearly all important public documents were inscribed on pillars: it was in this manner *e.g.* that those who were disfranchised (ἄτιμοι) were 'posted' in the Acropolis (Arist. *Rhet.* II. 23. 25, στήλι-

της γεγωνὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει. Isocr. *de Bigis*, § 9, στήλιτην ἀναγράφειν, Dem. *Phil.* III. 121, § 41, *Fals. Leg.* 428, § 271—2, and Lycurg. *Leocr.* 220, § 117 sqq.). Treaties were generally engraved on such pillars and placed either inside the public temples, or in their immediate precincts, Thuc. v. 18. 10, στήλας δὲ στήσαι Ὀλυμπίαισι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαῷ, Thuc. v. 47, τὰς δὲ ξυνηθήκας ... ἀναγράφαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐν πόλει, Ἀργεῖους δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ ἱερῷ, Μαντινέας δὲ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· καταθέντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίαισι στήλην χαλκῇν, Dem. *Lept.* 468, § 36 (speaking of the decrees of Athens in favour of Leuco king of Bosphorus), τούτων ἀπάντων στήλας ἀντιγράφους ἐστήσαθ' ὑμεῖς κακείνος (at Bosphorus, Piraeus and Hieron). Cf. §§ 115, 176. (v. Franz. *Elementa Epigraphices graecae*, p. 313 sqq.)

ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν.] The public temples of Hellas, *e.g.* at Olympia, Delphi, &c. Thuc. v. 18, *ἱερὰ κοινὰ* (of the temple at Delphi). The terms of the peace of Antalcidas were also inscribed in the temples of Sparta and her allies, as Isocr. expressly tells us (*Panath.* § 107).

πολὺν—πολέμου.] Quoted *metaphorically* by Arist. *Rhet.* III. 10 (on metaphors).

μιᾶς τύχης.] *De Perm.* § 128.

- 181 Ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄξιον ὀργίζεσθαι, καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν τε γεγενημένων δίκην ληψόμεθα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα διορθώσμεθα. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκέταις ἐξιούν χρῆσθαι, δημοσίᾳ δὲ τοσούτους τῶν συμμάχων περι-
ορᾶν αὐτοῖς δουλεύοντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ γενομένους μιᾷς γυναικὸς ἀρπασθείσης οὕτως ἅπαντας συν-
οργισθῆναι τοῖς ἀδικηθείσιν, ὥστε μὴ πρότερον παύσασθαι πολεμοῦντας, πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν τοῦ τολ- 79
- 182 μῆσαντος ἑξαμαρτεῖν, ἡμᾶς δ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑβρίζο-
μένης μηδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι κοινὴν τιμωρίαν, ἐξὸν ἡμῖν εὐχῆς ἄξια διαπραξάσθαι. μόνος γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος εἰρήνης κρείττων ἐστὶ, θεωρία μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατεία προσ-
εοικώς, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ συμφέρων, καὶ τοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τοῖς πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. εἴη γὰρ ἂν τοῖς μὲν ἀδεῶς ἢ
τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν καρποῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν μεγάλους πλούτους κατακτήσασθαι.
- 183 (μθ'.) Πολλαχῇ δ' ἂν τις λογιζόμενος εὔροι ταύτας τὰς πράξεις μάλιστα λυσιτελούσας ἡμῖν. φέρε γὰρ, πρὸς

181. ἰδίᾳ μὲν—δουλεύοντας.] Quoted *memoriter* by Arist. *Rhet.* III. 9, omitting ἀξιούν and αὐτοῖς, and substituting πολλοὺς for τοσούτους.

τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκέταις... χρῆσθαι.] e.g. Phrygians, Paphlagonians, Scythians.—v. Becker's *Charicles*, Exc. sc. vii. p. 364, 3rd ed.

ἀνάστατον.] § 37. n.

182. εὐχῆς ἄξια.] 'Worthy of our prayers,' 'worth praying for.' *Phil.* § 19, οὐκ ἐλάττω τὴν βασιλείαν πεποιήκεν, ἀλλ' εὐχῆς ἄξια διαπράττει. Slightly different to this is the phrase εὐχῇ ὅμοιος used in *Phil.* § 118, περιβάλλεσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς πράξεις δυνατὰς μὲν, εὐχῇ δ' ὅμοιας, ἐξεργάζεσθαι δὲ ζητεῖν αὐτάς, ὅπως ἂν οἱ καιροὶ παραυῶσιν, and Plat. *Rep.* VIII. 540 D, εὐχαῖς ὅμοια λέγοντες.

θεωρία.] 'Legationi solenni, sacrum et splendoris causae profecturae.' Morus. v. *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. Isocr. says that the proposed expedition against Persia would less re-

semble a warlike invasion than the peaceful pomp of a sacred embassy to the great Panhellenic games and temples. v. *de Bigis*, § 34, where Isocr. speaks of the splendour of the Olympic *theoria* of Alcibiades.

The above explanation is adopted by Wolf, Bens., Rauchenst., and in the main by all the other commentators except Schneider, whose translation is 'Vergnügungstour' (a pleasure-tour). He quotes Hdē. I. 29, *Τραρχ.* § 4, κατ' ἐμπορίαν καὶ κατὰ θεωρίαν, and Plat. *Rep.* 556 c, ἢ κατὰ θεωρίας ἢ κατὰ στρατείας, ἢ ἐμπλοὶ ἢ συστρατιῶται.

στρατεία.] v. § 15. n.

κατακτήσασθαι.] 'Solut Urbinas, ut solet, oratoris manum servat κατακτήσασθαι.' [cet. καταστήσασθαι.] Cobet. *Var. lect.* p. 125.

183. φέρε γὰρ—σκοποῦντας.] i.e. 'Against whom, I ask, is it right for those to make war who are eager for no self-aggrandisement but are looking to the claims of justice alone?'

τῖνας χρή πολεμεῖν τοὺς μηδεμιάς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον σκοποῦντας; οὐ πρὸς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσαντας καὶ νῦν ἐπιβουλευόντας καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακειμένους; c
184 τίσι δὲ φθονεῖν εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνάνδρους

The imperative *φέρε* ('come! tell me!' Cf. *ἀγε*) gives additional animation to the sentence, and is one of the few oratorical touches that rescue the *Paneg.* from being merely a written pamphlet. This imper. is used by Isocr. only in the speech *de Perm.* § 251. As might be expected, it occurs frequently in the speeches of Demosthenes and in the dialogues of Plato.

αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον.] 'Justice by itself, alone.' Cf. *Arosp.* § 67, αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰτιωτάτοις (and Schneider's n.) Dem. *de Cor.* § 126, αὐτὰ πάντα καὶ πάντα &c. *μόνος* is often coupled with *αὐτός* in this sense. In a *philosophical* passage, the expr. αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον would be properly translated by 'Justice in the abstract,' but in the present instance such a rendering would be too formal and technical.

184 τίσι δὲ—χρωμένους;] The exact meaning of *τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι* is open to dispute. It will be observed, that in the present and the preceding section Isocrates asks three distinctly different questions. He begins by stating that there are many points of view (*πολλαχῇ κ.τ.λ.*) in which the expedition against Persia would be found *advantageous* to the Greeks. The word *λυσιστελοῦσας* is the key to the three questions that follow. In those questions the Greeks are divided into three classes; the first question takes the case of those who look to the claims of justice alone, without regard to personal advantage; the last refers to those who desire to satisfy the call of expediency and of justice; the second must therefore, naturally, refer to those who are mainly influenced by

the motives of expediency. The characteristic of this class is *φθόνος*, and their courage in asserting their claims to the objects of their envy is of a lower order than the surpassing boldness of those who fight from the purest motives (*αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον*). The courage of those who fight for their own advantage is *μέτριον*, neither too great nor too little.

If this view of the general drift of the passage be correct, *τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι* must refer to *ἀνδρία*, which is implied in the word *ἀνάνδρως*, and the present passage will be one of the many instances of sense-constructions in Isocrates (v. § 110. n.). The meaning will in this case be as follows: 'Against whom is it right that *those* should direct their envy, who are not altogether destitute of courage, but who employ that faculty (*sc.* courage) in accordance with the true mean?' This explanation is supported on various grounds by Battie, Cor., Spohn, Bremi, Baiter, Rauchenst., and Schneider. It only remains to state that according to Wolf and Morus *τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι* = *φθόνῳ*, according to Auger and Lange (in *transl.*) = *ἀνανδρία*, and lastly, according to Benseler = *πλεονεξία*. All of these opinions illustrate the sense of the passage, but fall short, I think, of a satisfactory explanation. For the phraseology cf. *Archid.* § 7, *ἐλευθερίας, ὑπὲρ ἧς οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν θειῶν οὐχ ὑπομενετέον, οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μὴ λίαν ἀνάνδρως διακειμένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀρετῆς ἀντιπαινούμενοις*. (To explain *μετρίως* as = *καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν*, would require the insertion of *καὶ* before *μετρίως*).

διακειμένους ἀλλὰ μετρίως τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι χρωμένους ; οὐ τοῖς μείζους μὲν τὰς δυναστείας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπους περιβεβλημένοις, ἐλάττονος δ' ἀξίους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν δυστυχοῦντων ; ἐπὶ τίνας δὲ στρατεῦειν προσήκει τοὺς ἅμα μὲν εὐσεβεῖν βουλομένους, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐνθυμουμένους ; οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς καὶ φύσει πολεμίους καὶ πατρικοὺς ἐχθροὺς, d καὶ πλείστα μὲν ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένους, ἥκιστα δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμύνεσθαι δυναμένους ; οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνοι πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχοι
 185 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. (ν'). Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις λυπήσομεν στρατιώτας ἐξ αὐτῶν καταλέγοντες, ὃ νῦν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀχληρότατόν ἐστιν αὐταῖς· πολὺ γὰρ οἶμαι σπανιωτέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς μένειν ἐθελήσοντας τῶν συνακολουθεῖν ἐπιθυμησόντων. τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἢ νέος ἢ παλαιὸς ῥάθυμὸς ἐστίν, ὅστις οὐ μετασχεῖν βουλήσεται c ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων στρατηγουμένης, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων ἐλευθερίας ἀθροιζομένης, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ἐκπεμπομένης, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων τιμωρίαν πορευομένης ;

μείζους ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπους κ.τ.λ.] Cf. § 179, ὡς περ πρὸς τὸν Δία κ.τ.λ. — The dominion of the Persians was excessively great, their strength excessively small. They were παντάπασιν ἀνάνδρως διακείμενοι. Hence the appropriateness of the appeal to those amongst the Greeks whose courage was μέτριον.

εὐσεβεῖν] Resembles αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον σκοπεῖν in § 183. The word must be explained in immediate reference to φύσει πολεμίους καὶ πατρικοὺς ἐχθροὺς, just as τοῦ συμφέροντος refers to the clauses πλείστα μὲν—δυναμένους.

185. καταλέγοντες.] 'Enrolling.' Cf. κατάλογος.

μένειν...συνακολουθεῖν] Cf. § 35, ἀκολουθήσαντας (ὑπομεινάντας and § 147. n.

τίς κ.τ.λ.] sc. τίς γὰρ ἢ νέος ἢ παλαιὸς οὕτω-ῥάθυμὸς ἐστίν. In Isocrates, the adverb οὕτως is more frequently placed *before* than after the word qualified by it. Here it

stands several places before ῥάθυμος, cf. *Phil.* § 12, οὕτως ἐπὶ γῆρι γέγονα φιλότιμος. *Callim.* § 44, οὕτω...σφόδρα, and elsewhere. As an instance of closer connexion we have *Enag.* § 37, οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ῥάθυμος κ.τ.λ.

ἢ νέος ἢ παλαιός.] The use of the somewhat poetical word παλαιός instead of γέρον or πρεσβύτερος has led to a suspicion that παλαιός is not the right reading. The same collocation occurs however in Plat. *Symp.* 182 B. οὐκ ἂν τις εἴποι οὔτε νέος οὔτε παλαιός (which *may* be a quotation). (Cf. *Legg.* 717 c). The use of the poetical word may be justified by the principle mentioned in Ar. *Rhet.* III. 7. 10 (quoted in § 96. n.).

οὕτως...ὅστις] Cf. 113. n.—This sentence as far as ἐκπεμπομένης (with the slight alteration τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡδέως μετάσχοι στρατείας) is quoted by Alexander (Walz. *Rhet. Gr.* IX. 461) as an instance of *περίοδος τετρακώλος*.

186 φήμην δὲ καὶ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν πόσῃν τινα χρὴ νομίζειν ἢ ζῶντας ἔξειν ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείψειν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς 80 τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἀριστεύσαντας; ὅπου γὰρ οἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμήσαντες καὶ μίαν πόλιν ἐλόντες τοιούτων ἐπαίνων ἡξιώθησαν, ποίων τινῶν χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἐγκωμίων τεύξεσθαι τοὺς ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας κρατήσαντας; τίς γὰρ ἢ τῶν ποιεῖν

186. φήμην-ἀριστεύσαντας.] *i. e.* 'And how great must we deem the fame and the name (*lit.* memory) and the glory which *those* will either have in their lives or bequeath in their deaths, who have been foremost in such exploits as these?'

φήμην || μνήμην.] The same παρονομασία may be found in *Phil.* § 134, τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ τὴν φήμην καὶ τὴν μνήμην and in *Lysias* (?) *Or. Funerbr.* § 3, μνήμην παρὰ τῆς φήμης λαβών. The collocation of these two words appears to have been a common formula, not unlike such collocations as μέλη καὶ μέρη, ὦρα καὶ χώρα, χρήματα, καὶ κτήματα, and others which have been collected by Lobeck (*Paralip.* 54 sqq.). In the English Poets we have 'name and fame,' 'chance and change,' and many similar forms of expression. Aristotle doubtless alludes to this passage in *Rhet.* III. 7. 10 (quoted in § 96. n.), although the MSS there give us the inexplicable reading γνώμη instead of μνήμη.

τοὺς...ἀριστεύσαντας.] Past with ref. to ἔξειν...καταλείψειν.

ὅπου γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] v. § 83. n.

Ἀλέξανδρον] According to Apollodorus (*Bibl. Myth.* III. 12. 5) Paris was the name given to the infant son of Priam and Hecuba, by the servant who found him on mount Ida, and Alexander was a subsequent name. γενόμενος νεανίσκος... Ἀλέξανδρος προσωνομάσθη, ληστάς ἀμυρόμενος καὶ τοῖς ποιμήσις ἀλέξῃσας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βοηθήσας· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὸν τοὺς γοιῆας ἀνέυρε.

ἐπαίνων...ἐγκωμίων] v. § 51. n.

τίς γὰρ—καταλείπειν;] *i. e.* 'For

is there a single one of those who have either the power of poetry or the knowledge of oratory, who will refuse to toil earnestly in the desire to leave behind him for all time a memorial at once of his own intellect and of their valour?'

τῶν ποιῶν δυναμένων...τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων.] Cf. *Lysias* (?) *Or. Funerbr.* § 2, καὶ τοῖς ποιῶν δυναμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βουλθηέουσιν. This use of ποιῶν is extremely common, *e.g.* *Hel.* § 65, Ὀμήρῳ προσέταξε ποιῶν, and *esp.* *Plato, Ion*, 534 B, κούφον γὰρ χρήμα ποιητῆς ἐστὶ καὶ πτηνὸν καὶ ἱερὸν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον οἶός τε ποιῶν, πρὶν ἂν ἐνθεὸς τε γένηται καὶ ἔκφρων καὶ ὁ νοὺς μηκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνῇ· ἔως δ' ἂν τοῦτ' ἔχῃ τὸ κῆμα, ἀδύνατος πᾶς ποιῶν ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος καὶ χρησμοδεῖν. Sometimes the word is used both in its generic and specific sense in the very same passage, *e.g.* *Enag.* § 36, φοβεροὺς ποιησάμενος τοὺς κυνδύνους... followed by οἱ μὲν πλείστοι πεποίηται διὰ τύχην λαβόντες τὰς βασιλείας. (Cf. *Plat. Lysis*, 206 B, σκόπει...ὅπως μὴ πᾶσι τοῖσιν ἐνοχον σαυτὸν ποιήσης διὰ τὴν κοίτην, and Ben Jonson's *Transl.* of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, l. 317, *And I shall bid the learned maker looke On life and manners and make these his booke.*)

From this meaning of ποιῶν we have the common Greek words which have become familiar in their English forms,—*poesy, poem, and poet*. Poets are to the Greek mind (as Sir William Temple puts it) 'makers or creators,—such as raise admirable frames and fabrics out of nothing.'

In modern English we are unable

δυναμένων ἢ τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων οὐ πονήσῃ καὶ φιλοσοφήσῃ βουλόμενος ἅμα τῆς θ' αὐτοῦ διανοίας καὶ τῆς ὁ ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς μνημεῖον εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον καταλιπεῖν;

- 187 (ναΐ.) Οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τυγχάνω γνώμην ἔχων ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου. τότε μὲν γὰρ ὥμην ἀξίως δυνήσεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπεῖν· νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐφικνοῦμαι τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλά με διαπέφευγεν ὧν διανοήθη. αὐτοὺς οὖν χρὴ συνδιορᾶν, ὅσης ἂν εὐδαιμονίας τύχοιμεν, εἰ τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν νῦν ὄντα περὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸς τοὺς ἡπειρώτας ποιησαίμεθα, τὴν δ' εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην διακομίσαιμεν,
188 καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκροατὰς γενομένους ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πράττειν δυναμένους παρακαλοῦντας ἀλλήλους πειράσθαι

to translate ποιεῖν literally; but there was a time when 'to make,' with its derivatives 'maker' and 'making,' was commonly applied to poetry; e.g. Spenser's *Aegloga*, VI. 82, *The God of shepherds, Tityrus is dead, Who taught me humbly as I can to make*, and Sir Philip Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* (printed 1595 A.D.), p. 24, ed. Arber, *The Greekes called him a Poet, which name, hath as the most excellent, gone thorough other Languages. It commeth of this word Poiein, which is, to make; wherein I know not, whether by lucke or wisdom, wee Englishmen have mette with the Greekes, in calling him a maker.*

The contrast in the text between ποιεῖν and λέγειν must not be confounded with that of § 188, between πράττειν δυναμένους and λόγων ἀμφοιβητοῦντας.

δυναμένων...ἐπισταμένων.] v. § 11, *ad fin.* n.

πονῆσῃ καὶ φιλοσοφήσῃ.] Cf. *Evag.* § 78, φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν, and esp. § 6, σκοπεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν. n.

§§ 187—189. *The Peroration. I have fallen short of the hopes which*

I entertained at the beginning of my speech and have failed to reach the full grandeur of my theme. I therefore appeal for aid to my audience. The men of practical power must endeavour to reconcile Athens and Sparta; and those who contend for the palm of rhetoric must cease to write on trifling subjects, but must attempt to outlive this oration. Thus shall they be released from their present penury, and be seen by the world to be the causes of abundant blessings.

187. οὐ τὴν—λόγου.] Obs. the blended iambic and trochaic rhythm and v. § 170. n.

ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι.] Benseler's text adds *καίρω* (against the authority of the best MSS). In such cases Isocr. generally omits *καίρω*, e.g. *Archid.* § 15, 104, *Trapez.* § 9, and esp. *Evag.* § 80, ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, *de Pace*, § 121, and 14 other passages quoted by Schn. on *Areop.* § 78, where Isocr. adopts the fuller form ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι καίρω καὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσι χρόνοις.

πολλά με διατέφ.] Contrast § 14. τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κ.τ.λ.] v. § 174, τὸν ἐνθένδε πόλεμον... n.

διαλλάττειν τήν τε πόλιν τήν ἡμετέραν καὶ τήν Λακεδαι-
μονίαν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν λόγων ἀμφισβητοῦντας πρὸς μὲν τὴν
παρακαταθήκην καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νῦν φλυαροῦσι δ
189 τὴν ἄμειλλαν καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν αὐ-
τῶν πραγμάτων ἐροῦσιν, ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι τοῖς μεγάλα

188. τοὺς—ἀμφισβητοῦντας.] lit. 'Those who lay claim to oratory,' i.e. 'are rival claimants for the prize of rhetoric.' Cf. *Hel.* § 9, τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ φάσκον-
τας εἶναι σοφιστὰς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἡμελη-
μένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς
ἅπαντές εἰσιν ἀνταγωνισταί, προσή-
κει διαφέρειν καὶ κρείττους εἶναι τῶν
ἰδιωτῶν.

Benseler rightly condemns Battie's
transl. 'qui de verbis disputant.'

πρὸς μὲν τὴν παρακαταθήκην
κ.τ.λ.] One of the forensic speeches
of Isocr. (πρὸς Εὐθύνου ἀμάρτυρος),
relates to a deposit of 3 talents
placed by one Nicias in the hands of
Euthynus. The latter (the defendant)
had paid two talents to Nicias (the
plaintiff), and Isocr. contends on
behalf of Nicias that another talent
was still due from Euthynus. As
no witnesses were present on the
occasion of the alleged deposit, the
case has to be argued on *a priori*
grounds. Isocr. states the case for
his client with considerable inge-
nuity. Lysias was probably retained
on the side of the defendant (v.
Baiter and Sauppe, *Orat. Att.* II.
199), and a rival speech was also
written by Antisthenes, (the Cynic),
a pupil of Gorgias, as we are told
by Diog. Laert. VI. 9, 15, who
states that the first volume of the
writings of Antisthenes contained
the *Alas* and *Ὀδυσσεὺς* (v. *Orat.*
Att. II. 167), and also a compo-
sition, πρὸς τὸν Ἰσοκράτους ἀμάρτυ-
ρον. To this writing of Antisthenes
allusion is probably made in the
present passage. (It may be noticed
in passing that in the *Helena* *Enc.*
§ 1 sqq. we have a pointed attack

on Antisthenes, Plato and Euclides.
Their names are not mentioned, but
the allusion cannot be disputed. It
was partially discerned by Wolf,
who however expresses himself still
more clearly on the well-known anti-
Platonic allusion in *Phil.* § 12.—
v. Dr Thompson's ed. of Plat.
Phaedr. p. 175 and 179. n.)

This expl. was first proposed by
Wolf, and has been accepted by
all the best commentators, except
Benseler, who concludes his note
with words to this effect: 'It is far
more probable that Isocrates refers
to such subjects as those which an
Alcidamas, Antisthenes, or Poly-
crates chose for themselves mainly
from the world of legend, frequent-
ly in reference to modern political
circumstances. Thus the question
whether Hercules had entrusted the
kingdom of Argos to Tyndareus, or
Messene to Nestor (v. esp. Pausan.
II. 18. 6), had a political colouring,
inasmuch as it touched upon the
claims of Sparta to those territories,
but, nevertheless, it could by no
means lead to a political result.'
Benseler, it must be remembered,
does not believe in the genuineness
of the πρὸς Εὐθύνου; hence his arti-
ficial explanation.

φλυαροῦσι.] Cf. *Soph.* § 11.

πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον κ.τ.λ.]
This challenge was actually taken
up by one Aristoteles, who is de-
scribed by Diog. Laert. *vit. phil.*
V. 1, § 35 as Σικελιώτης ῥήτωρ, πρὸς
τὸν Ἰσοκράτους Πανηγυρικὸν ἀντιγε-
γραφός.

189. τοῖς μεγάλα ὑπίσχυ.] Ai-
luding esp. to the vaunting profes-
sions of some of the Sophists. v.

ὑπισχνουμένοις οὐ πρέπει περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν, οὐδὲ ταυ-
αὐτα λέγειν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος μὴδὲν ἐπιδώσει τῶν πεισθέντων,
ἀλλ' ὧν ἐπιτελεσθέντων, αὐτοὶ τ' ἀπαλλαγίσονται τῆς ε-
παρούσης ἀπορίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι
δόξουσιν εἶναι.

Soph. passim, esp. § 1, μέλους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις...οἱ τολμῶν-
τες ἴλαν ἀπερισκέπτως ἀλαζονεύεσθαι,
and § 10, τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν ἐπαγ-
γελμάτων.

περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν.] Alluding partly to πρὸς μὲν—γραφόντας.—
Some of these trifling subjects have been recorded; e.g. humble-bees and salt. (*Hel.* § 12, τῶν τοὺς βομβυλίουδς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βουλευθέντων ἐπαινεῖν. Cf. *Plat. Sym.* 177 B). Polycrates, a Sophist, whose declamation, in defence of the monster Busiris, is attacked by Isocr. in a special treatise, was particularly famous for these compositions. We are told that he wrote in praise of mice, and pots, and pebbles. Cf. *Arist. Rhet.* II. 24, and Alexander's 'Ρητορικὰ ἀφορμαὶ ('Rhetorical magazine'), *Rhet. Gr.* ed. Walz. IX. 334, ὅταν χύτρας ἐγκωμιάζωμεν ἢ ψήφους, ὡς Πολυκράτης, οὐ πάντως καὶ τεθναυμακότες τὴν χύτραν ἢ τὰς ψήφους ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ γυμνάζοντες ἑαυτοὺς πύθανοις τισι λόγοις. These *tour*s de force doubtless resembled the extant *μῦθας ἐγκώμιον* of Lucian, which contains all that ingenuity can suggest in praise of the *musca domestica*.

ἀπορίας.] Not τῶν λόγων, but τῆς οὐσίας (*Pecuniary* embarrassment), as the context clearly shews. *Videntur enim*, says Wolf, (from personal experience) *ut nunc, ita olim etiam pauperatis clientes fuisse ludimagistri*. Cf. the peroration of the speech *de Pace*, and esp. the words, ἐν ταῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐπραγίαις συμβαίνει καὶ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων πράγματα πολὺ βελτίω γίνεσθαι. Isocrates frequently speaks of the penury of his rivals, e.g. *Soph.* § 4, λέγονσι μὲν, ὡς οὐδὲν δεύονται χρημά-

των...μικροῦ δὲ κέρδους δρεγόμενοι μόνον οὐκ ἀθανάτους ὑπισχνοῦνται τοὺς συνόντας ποιήσιν, *ib.* § 7, τοὺς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν παραδιδόντας...αὐτοὺς πολλῶν δεομένους καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς μικρὸν πρᾶττομένους. The fee demanded by these rivals was 3 or 4 minae (£12—16). Isocr. himself charged (according to an anonymous writer of his life) as much as 10 minae (£40), apparently for the whole course (Cf. *Dem. Lacr.* § 15, οὐτοσὶ Λάκριτος Φασηλίτης, μέγα πρᾶγμα, Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῆς, and *ib.* § 42, ταῖς χίλαις δραχμαῖς ὥς δέδωκε τῷ διδασκάλῳ). We know of one at least of his pupils (the historian Ephorus of Cymae), who passed through the course with such poor success that his father was compelled to send him again, and pay a second fee, which led the master to give his pupil the nickname of Δέφορος. He had as many as 100 pupils in all (*Phot. Bibl. cod.* 176.); Hermippus (ὁ Καλλιμάχειος) wrote a book about these pupils: amongst them, as we learn from various sources, were the orators Isaeus, Hyperides, Lycurgus, the historians Theopompus and Ephorus, and the tragedians Astydamos, Theodectes and Asclepiades. The vast sums he accumulated, from these and similar sources, exposed him to envy (*de Perm.* §§ 4, 146, 154), but in the speech *de Permutatone* he defends himself on the ground that all these sums were obtained not from Athenians but from foreigners (*ib.* §§ 39, 40); many of these pupils stayed with him for 3 or 4 years, and at the conclusion of the course parted from him with tears of regret (*ib.* § 88, μετὰ πόθου καὶ δακρύων ἀπηλλάγησαν).

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